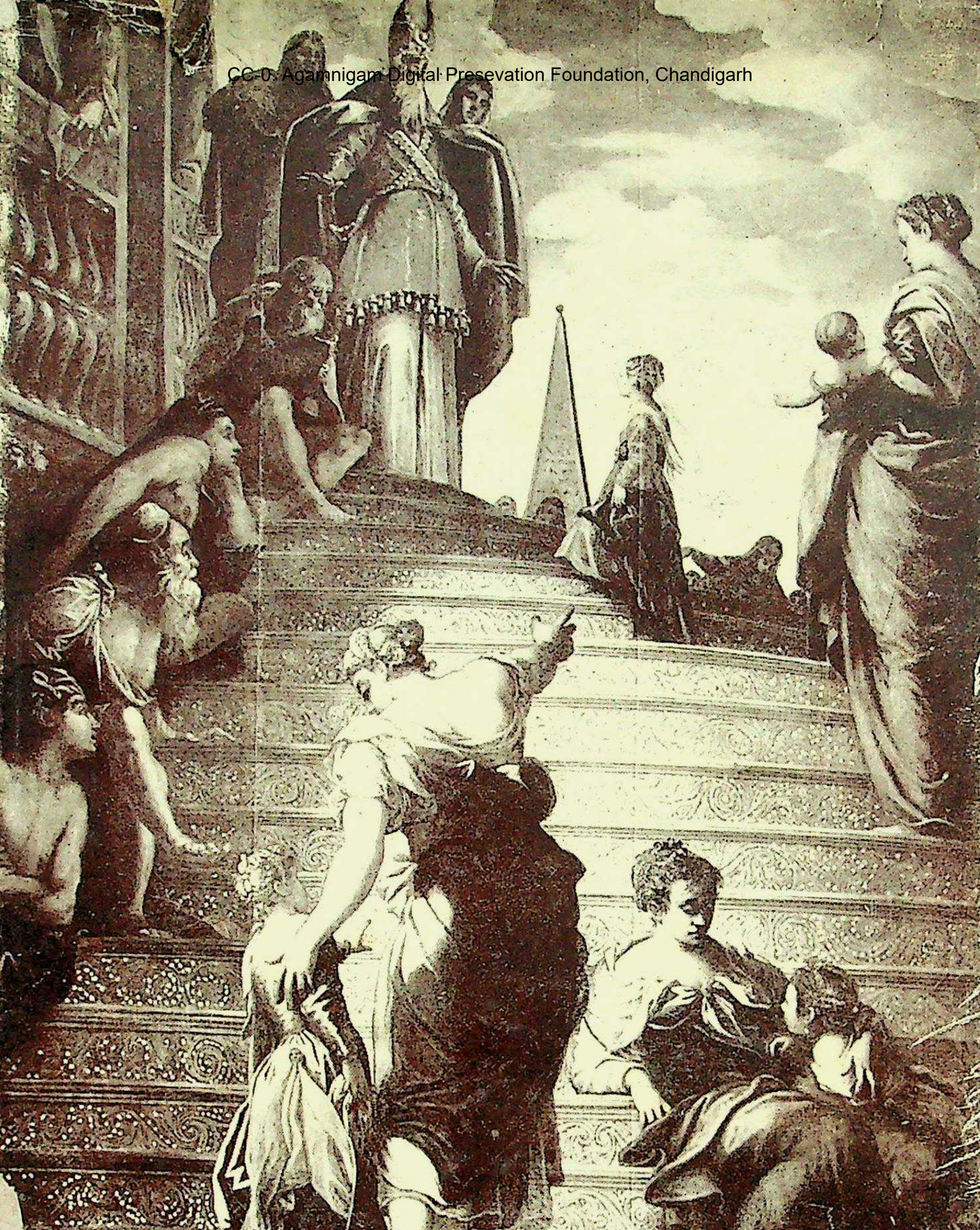

LATER ITALIAN PAINTING

1500-1800

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A Student's Guide to
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A Student's Guide

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1500 – 1800

F. M. GODFREY
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FOREWORD

The second part of *A Student's Guide* leads the story of Italian Painting from Leonardo to the end of the eighteenth century and completes the course. It is built on the same principles as the first, attempting to trace the history of Italian art by taking the student to selected masterpieces and discussing the stature and contribution of each master, and his place in the panorama. Apart from viewing great individual artists, it treats of movements and schools, such as the Mannerist movement, which was an escape from Classicism, or the School of Bologna which was its modernised form as well as being the root of the Baroque. Chapters on the Roman Baroque and the Venetian Rococo, with side glances at Genoa and Naples, round off the picture of three centuries of Italian Painting. I am greatly indebted to the Seicento scholar, Mr. Denis Mahon, for generous advice and constructive criticism on the chapters dealing with his period.

F.M.G.

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XXI. THE UNIVERSE OF LEONARDO DA VINCI.

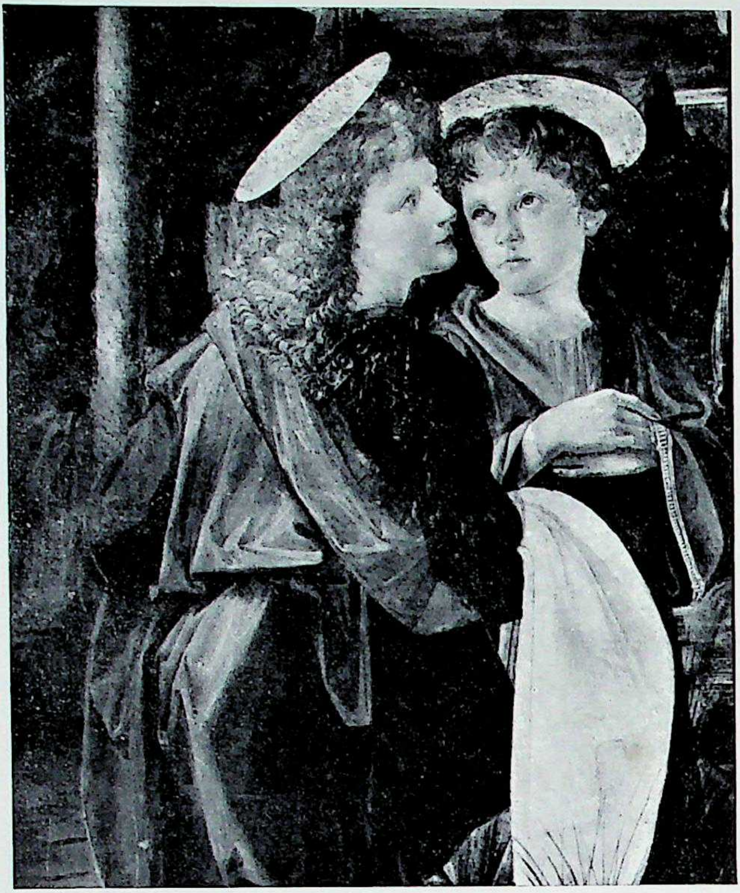
LEONARDO spoke the new pictorial language of the sixteenth century in figures greater than life, liberated in movement and powerful dramatic gesture. By his universal inquiry into the laws of art and of nature he became the prototype of Renaissance man. The scientist's record of appearances is enhanced by a new subtlety of modelling, the delicate transitions of tone and his famous 'sfumato,' a veil of shadow, a haze of light which shrouds in mystery his figures and cosmic landscapes.

'THE COLOSSAL OUTLINES OF LEONARDO'S NATURE CAN NEVER BE MORE THAN DIMLY AND DISTANTLY CONCEIVED.' (JACOB BURCKHARDT)

LEONARDO was born at Anchiano near Vinci, a small town in Tuscany. When his family moved to Florence in 1470, Leonardo was no longer at an age when a youth would be apprenticed to a master. On entering Verrocchio's workshop he seems to have taken a hand from the start in major commissions such as the *Baptism of Christ* which Verrocchio was painting for the monks of Vallombroso. Verrocchio's studio was then the foremost training ground for young artists in Florence, and during the years of his association with it Leonardo absorbed the new art and the new humanism of Florence. The kneeling angel and part of the landscape which are his share **138** in Verrocchio's *Baptism* are the first testimony of Leonardo's refined sense of beauty. This angel at whom a simpler more childlike companion gazes with such intent has the shimmering gold thread of hair, the beauty of raiment, the delicacy of idealised form. He is more complex, more subtle than Verrocchio's angel in the characteristic turn of his head, the forceful linearism of folds and the noble sweep of his whole figure.

The surviving works of Leonardo's first Florentine period are few; one or two disputed portraits and Madonnas, and the Uffizi *Annunciation*. Leonardo's own handwriting can be discerned in the **139** tempestuous angel who kneels before the Virgin in a flower-starred garden. His clear Grecian brow, his rich curly hair touched with light, the bird feathers of his great wings observed from nature, the writhing plants and fantastic ranges of hills under the luminous sky bear Leonardo's mark.

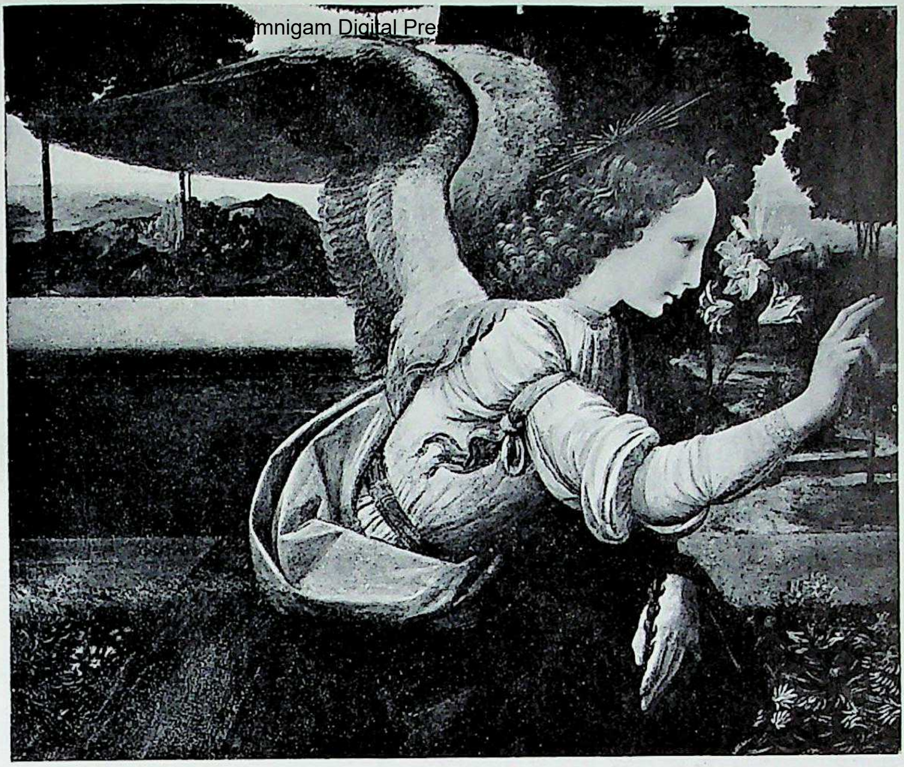
His early works like the portrait of *Ginevra dei Benci* are still **140** painted in the idiom of the Quattrocento. Leonardo has not yet evolved the hazy atmosphere, the disturbing smile, the majestic



138. LEONARDO AND VERROCCHIO. Two Angels from the *Baptism of Christ*. Florence, Uffizi (photo: Soprintendenza alle Gallerie di Firenze).

forms and the fantastic landscape of his maturity. He has placed the marmoreal face effectively before the dark needle pattern of the juniper tree and framed the impassive form with a garland of golden ringlets, reflecting Ginevra's mood in the dreamy landscape of trees and hills and water. Nothing more delicate and supple can be imagined than the soft and fluctuating changes from lighted flesh tints to grey shadows which modulate Ginevra's face, and the slender stem of her neck, the suggestion of rose upon her cheek, her pale and shapely lips. If the angel of the *Annunciation* was an ideal, Ginevra is an individual likeness.

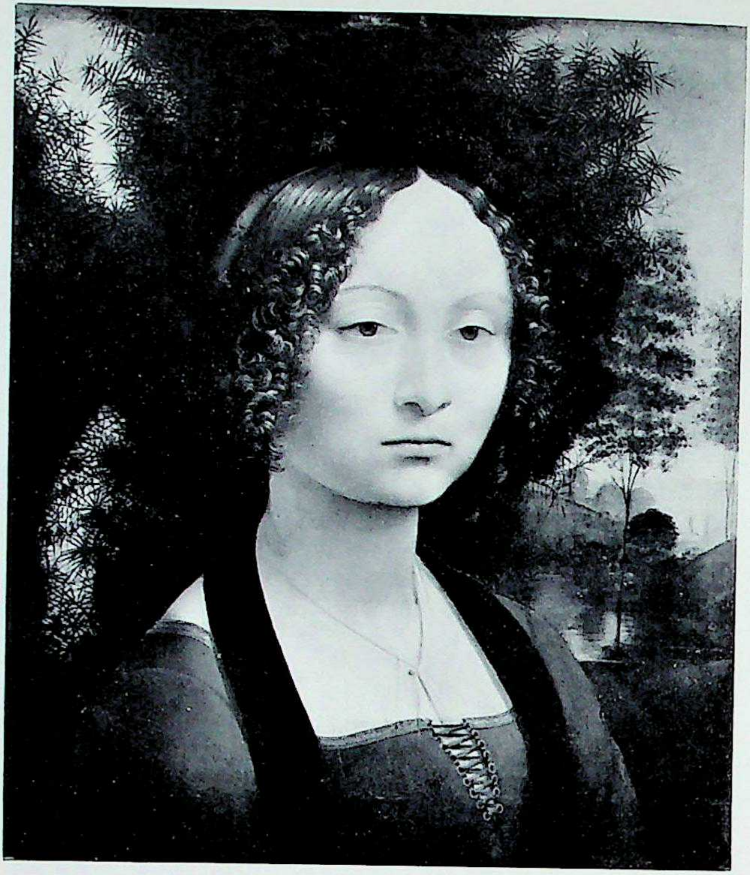
Leonardo's most personal style appears for the first time in the
141 unfinished *Adoration of the Magi,* painted in 1481 for the monks



139. LEONARDO. Angel from the *Annunciation*. Florence, Uffizi (photo: Soprintendenza alle Gallerie di Firenze).

of San Donato a Scopeto. This great picture, of which only the brown underpainting remains, represents a break with the Florentine tradition of Adorations and is an anticipation of all that Leonardo was to accomplish in composition, light, movement, and human type. The dark and evocative panel, which at first glance seems chaotic and illegible, differs profoundly from the static and well-defined handwriting of the fifteenth century.

Leonardo created order out of chaos by means of his new magic of light and fleeting shadow. The Virgin and Child in the centre form a beacon of light, around which figures sway and move in adoration. These ghostly forms emerge out of deep shadow; their bodies are lost in the impenetrable gloom, but their heads are lit. We discern a bearded man sheltering his eyes from the great light, and behind him the tragic mask of a man, with dark cavities of eyes and mouth, like the Vatican *S. Jerome*, next to a romantic youth of rare and visionary beauty. Hands are raised heavenwards, and the



140. LEONARDO. *Ginevra dei Benci.* Formerly Liechtenstein Collection (photo: National Gallery, London).

impression is of wonder and ecstasy, of seeking to discover and adore. Such agitation of the spirit is countered by the gentle calm of the Virgin and by the two corner figures on left and right; the dark contemplative man, and a wholly detached youth in armour, opposite.

Nor is the tumultuous vision confined to the foreground: the agitation is carried beyond into the forecourt of buildings, where steps and arches lend firmness and structural form. But here also the static element is countered by horsemen on prancing steeds and by phantom figures in the middle distance. Leonardo's fragment of the *Adoration* is like a summary of his achievement: the expressionist heads of kings around the tranquil shape of the Madonna, the contrast of aged wisdom and fair youth, the fervour of the mind

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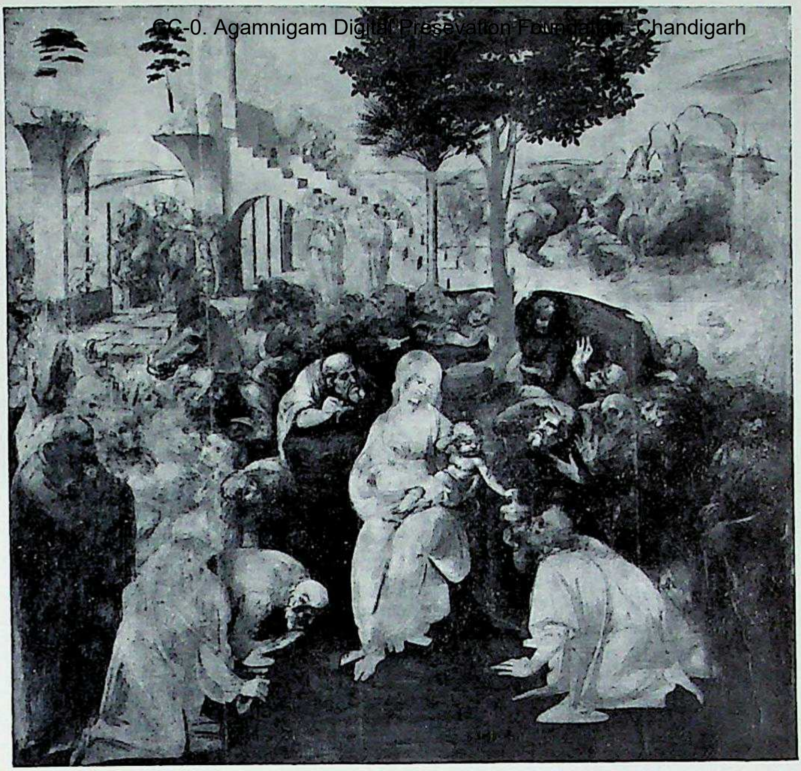
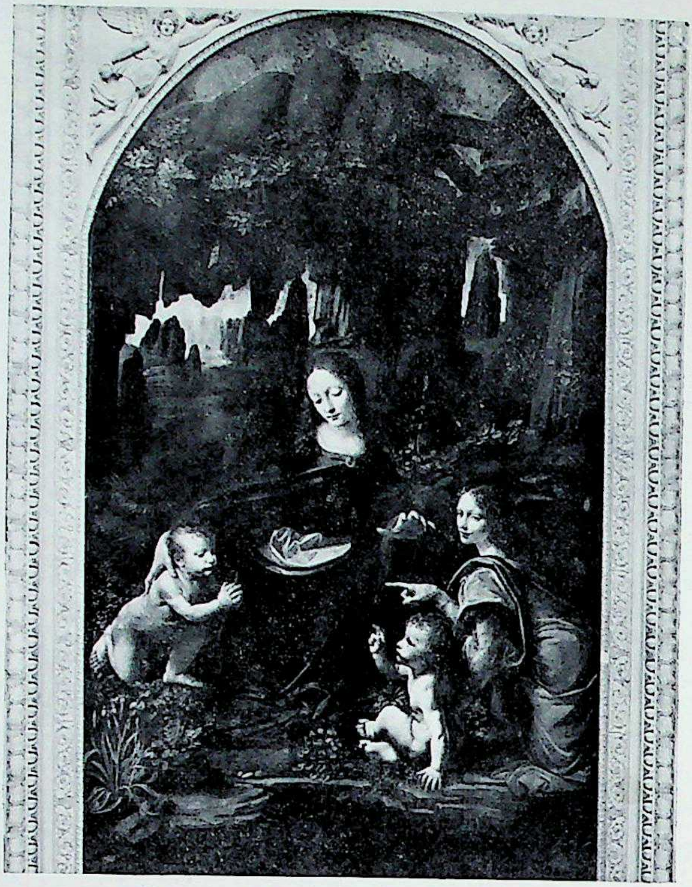


141. LEONARDO. *Adoration of the Magi.* Florence, Uffizi (photo: Soprintendenza alle Gallerie di Firenze).

carried over into the landscape, and the mysterious power of chiaroscuro enveloping all forms in deep shadow around the luminous centre.

Leonardo left the *Adoration* unfinished, because in 1482 he moved from Florence to Milan. Maybe the Medici had no taste for his genius. Leonardo's scientific bent was averse to the neo-Platonic philosophy of Lorenzo's circle, and the legend may be true that the ruler of Florence dispatched Leonardo to the Duke of Milan with the gift of a silver lyre fashioned in the shape of a horse's head. More likely that Leonardo had been invited by Duke Lodovico Sforza to enter his service as a result of the famous letter Leonardo had sent him in which he recommended his multifarious skills. In it he wrote that he could build bridges and machines of war, blow up rocks and fortifications, construct mortars, divert rivers, erect public buildings and, almost as an afterthought: 'I can carry out sculpture in marble, bronze, or clay, and also I can do in painting



142. LEONARDO. *Virgin of the Rocks.* Paris, Louvre (photo: Giraudon).

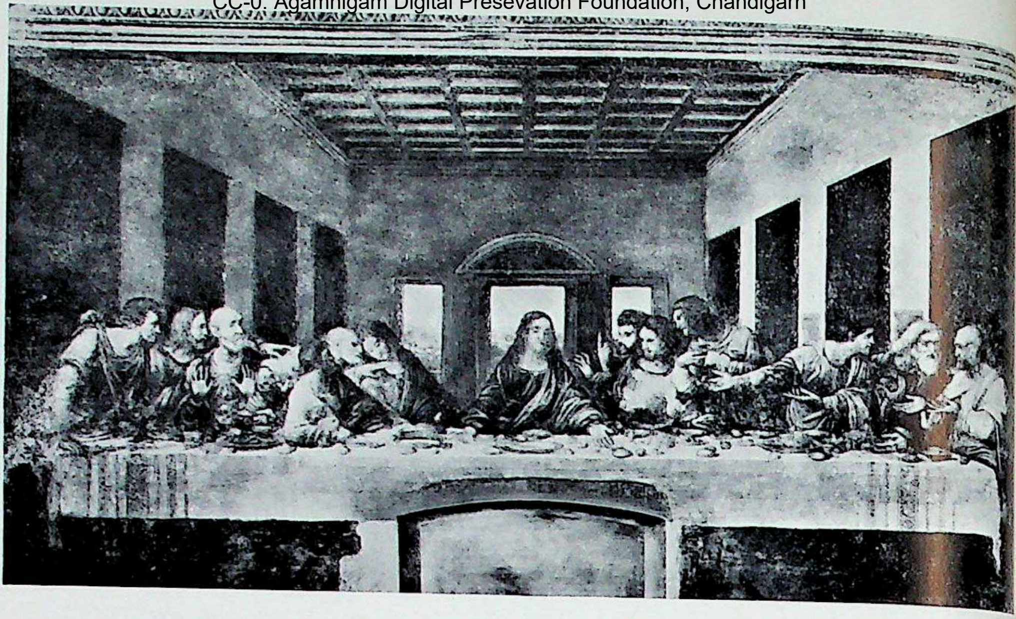
whatever may be done, as well as any other, be he who he may.' Moreover, he offered to make the bronze horse and statue of Francesco Sforza, the great condottiere and ancestor of Lodovico.

Apart from the portrait of the Duke's mistress Cecilia Gallerani, perhaps the Lady with the Ermine in Cracow, and other portraits, **142** Leonardo's first major work at Milan is the *Virgin of the Rocks* (1483), now in the Louvre. Leonardo lodged with the brothers Ambrogio and Evangelista de Predis, painters and contractors of the old Lombard School, and so the great altarpiece was commissioned to him and de Predis by the confraternity of the Immaculate Conception. But the invention is entirely his and only the later (London) version of the picture is in large parts by the hand of de Predis and pupils.

In the *Virgin of the Rocks* the violent and dramatic effects of the anti-classical *Adoration* have been resolved in a composition of deep solemnity and mystical contemplation. Were it not for Leonardo's fantastic landscape, the brown stalactite rocks, pushing their cones into the lunar sky, the water flowing in the grotto, and the hazy blue of infinite distances—the painting would be a paragon of Quattrocento art. The four figures are perfectly poised within the triangular shape, with the Virgin and angel of exquisite and delicate loveliness. The infant S. John, sheltering in the Madonna's azure cloak, pays homage to the Christ, while the latter, supported by the angel, responds to the act of adoration with blessing hand. There is a perfect correspondence, an intimate response between the four figures. The noble sweep of the Madonna, with head inclined toward S. John and protecting hand held over the Christ embraces both, while the angel gazing tenderly out of the picture points towards the Forerunner with his hand. The charm of the Madonna is matched by this languid and infinitely subtle angel in his billowing red cloak, his wan face framed by the golden curls, the hardly perceptible smile, the glance of unearthly desire.

From the dark brown penumbra of the foreground, writhing plants erupt with touches of golden light. The children are modelled in tones of golden bronze, the grooves and dimples of their flesh conveyed by soft chiaroscuro, their curly hair touched in with the same delicacy as the star-shaped leaves and grasses. The dimness and atmospheric haze of the grotto in the diffused sunset light of watery distances lend plastic relief to the radiant figures, whose outlines melt into the surround by dint of 'sfumato,' the softness and vibrancy of paint, the imperceptible transitions from light to shade.

No other work by Leonardo is known until 1489, the year when Lodovico Il Moro asked the Duke of Florence to dispatch two able sculptors to help with the Sforza monument. Leonardo's work had been conceived on such a scale, that it could not be cast in bronze. Moreover, his scientific interests ranged far and wide and he only worked intermittently at painting or sculpture. His favourite studies at that period were perspective, mechanics, and aeronautics; he wrote a treatise on painting and filled his notebooks with a thousand drawings and observations. These were his happiest years at the court of Milan. He was a peer of princes and scholars. Luca Pacioli, the greatest mathematician of the age, was his friend; he was surrounded by pupils and imitators, like Marco d'Oggiono, Boltraffio and the beautiful model Salai. From 1495 to 1497 he

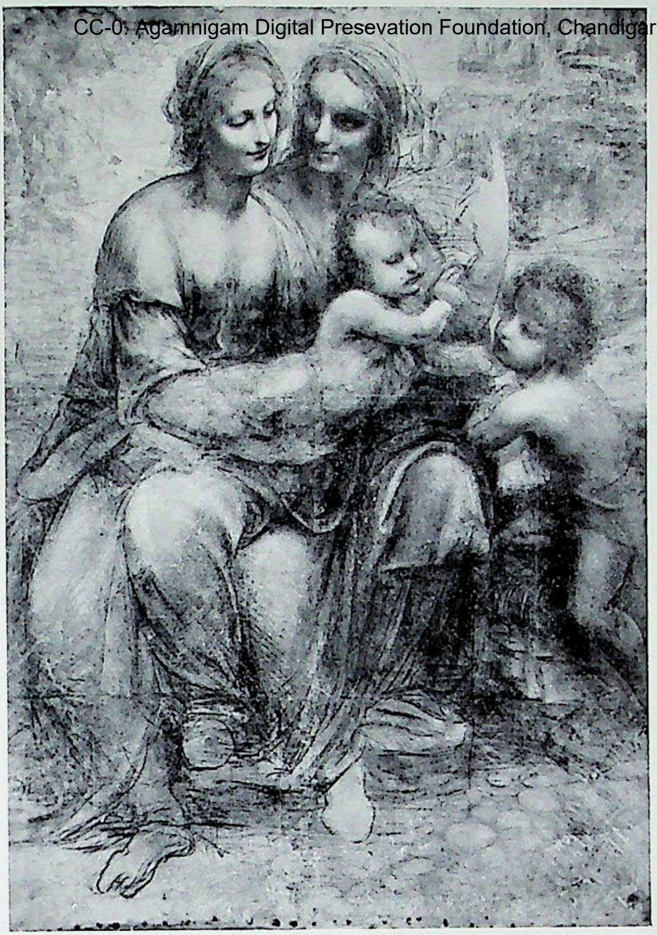


143. LEONARDO. *Last Supper.* Milan, S. M. delle Grazie.

143 completed the work for which he is most renowned, the *Last Supper,* painted for the refectory of the monks in Santa Maria delle Grazie.

Here, Leonardo posed himself a very different problem : not a still life of human loveliness, but a violent tumult of twelve men around their Master, who has just revealed His coming betrayal. The static renderings of the *Last Supper* from Giotto to Ghirlandaio, where the Apostles are self-contained, isolated members in space, could not satisfy Leonardo. He conceived the *Last Supper* as a psychological upheaval, an occasion for violent movement of superhuman figures in the diminishing perspective of a painted refectory hall. He burst open the solid wall and conjured up a geometrical space, with coffered ceiling and vertical hangings to set off the characters and lead towards the central window, where Christ is silhouetted against the transparent evening light from without.

The psychological moment which Leonardo presented is not the breaking of the bread, but the announcement of the betrayal, which throws into confusion the staid gathering of the Apostles. But the agitation of the spirit had to be expressed in spatial relationship and dramatic movement and Leonardo conjoined four groups of three, varying their intensity in proportion as they are further removed from the Christ. The forces fleeing from the centre are balanced by



144. LEONARDO. *The Virgin and S. Anne,* cartoon. London, Royal Academy (photo: Courtesy Royal Academy).

those inclining towards it, and the language of raised hands and outstretched arms suggest the awful tension of the hour.

The greatness of Leonardo's creation does not only reside in the scientific skill of his grouping, the contrast between Christ's noble calm and the emotion of the Apostles, it rests above all in the gradation of human character. For the Apostles represent Leonardo's world of human type and behaviour and are worked out in significant contrasts. The dark menacing Judas combines with the youthful innocence of S. John, and the devoted S. Philip with S. James the Great who recoils in terror and seems to shout. These characters have been described in Goethe's classical essay, and their emotions—

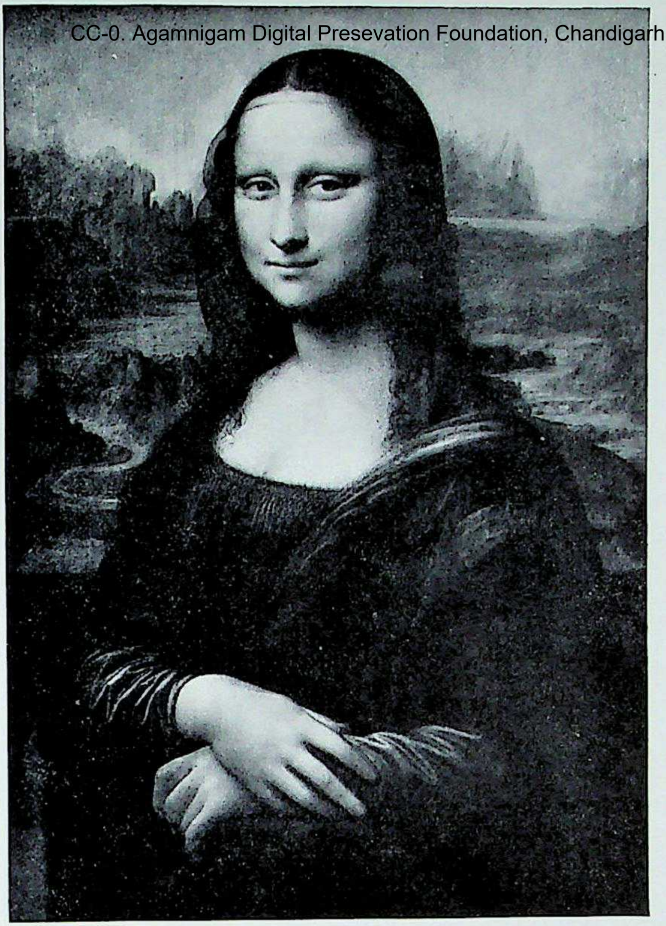
stupor, fear, disdain, faith, and affection—are revealed in their gestures. For the southern language of hands and of faces contains all the drama, and the violent disquiet is enhanced by the contrast with the sorrowful majesty of Christ.

Two years after the *Last Supper,* in 1499, King Louis XII of France invaded Lombardy. Lodovico Il Moro fell from power and Leonardo left Milan. He first went to Venice, then to Florence for a second stay of six years. From now on his chief interest becomes scientific. The agent of Isabella d'Este reported dolefully to the Duchess: 'His mathematical experiments have distracted him so much from painting that he cannot suffer the brush.' For a year or two Leonardo served Cesare Borgia as military engineer. Only three works of art are recorded from these Florentine years 1500–1506: the lost cartoon for the *Battle of Anghiari,* the cartoon for *The Virgin and S. Anne* and the *Mona Lisa.*

144 The Burlington House cartoon of *The Virgin and S. Anne* (1500) differs profoundly from the painting in the Louvre. There, before a bluish green sea of rocks and glaciers, the Virgin, sitting on the lap of her mother, bends low to seize the Child Jesus who plays with a lamb. The London cartoon shows an earlier stage of Leonardo's invention. Here the two smiling women, in Classical grandeur of limb and drapery, are seen at the same level, though Mary is seated on the knee of S. Anne, with one foot firmly placed on the ground. Both figures are turned inwards with a three-quarter turn, and the Virgin presents the Child Jesus to the little S. John, whom He blesses, and whose upturned face He touches with His hand.

The tender fleeting smile of the women, the hand of S. Anne pointing heavenwards, the softening of all contours by the shadows encroaching upon lighted surfaces, are requisites of Leonardo's ripest style. But here he conceived a human group of such monumental breadth, so closely knit, so unified in the secret correspondence of bodily curves, so consummate in the plastic amplitude of limbs, that spirit and outward form are one.

145 To understand why *Mona Lisa* is the consummation of Leonardo's portraiture one must examine her pose, her relationship to the space and the quality of paint. Mona Lisa sits rigidly upright, her body half turned towards the light. Her left arm lies along the parapet of the chair, and her right, strongly foreshortened, comes forward so that one hand may close upon the other. She towers above the brown rocks and bluish green waters and arctic ranges, and the sculptural quality is enhanced by the void and transparency of the background. Leonardo relates the forward thrust of Mona Lisa's



145. LEONARDO. *Mona Lisa.* Paris, Louvre (photo: Giraudon).

body to the great recession of rocks and winding stream, so that human form and cosmic background are inseparably linked.

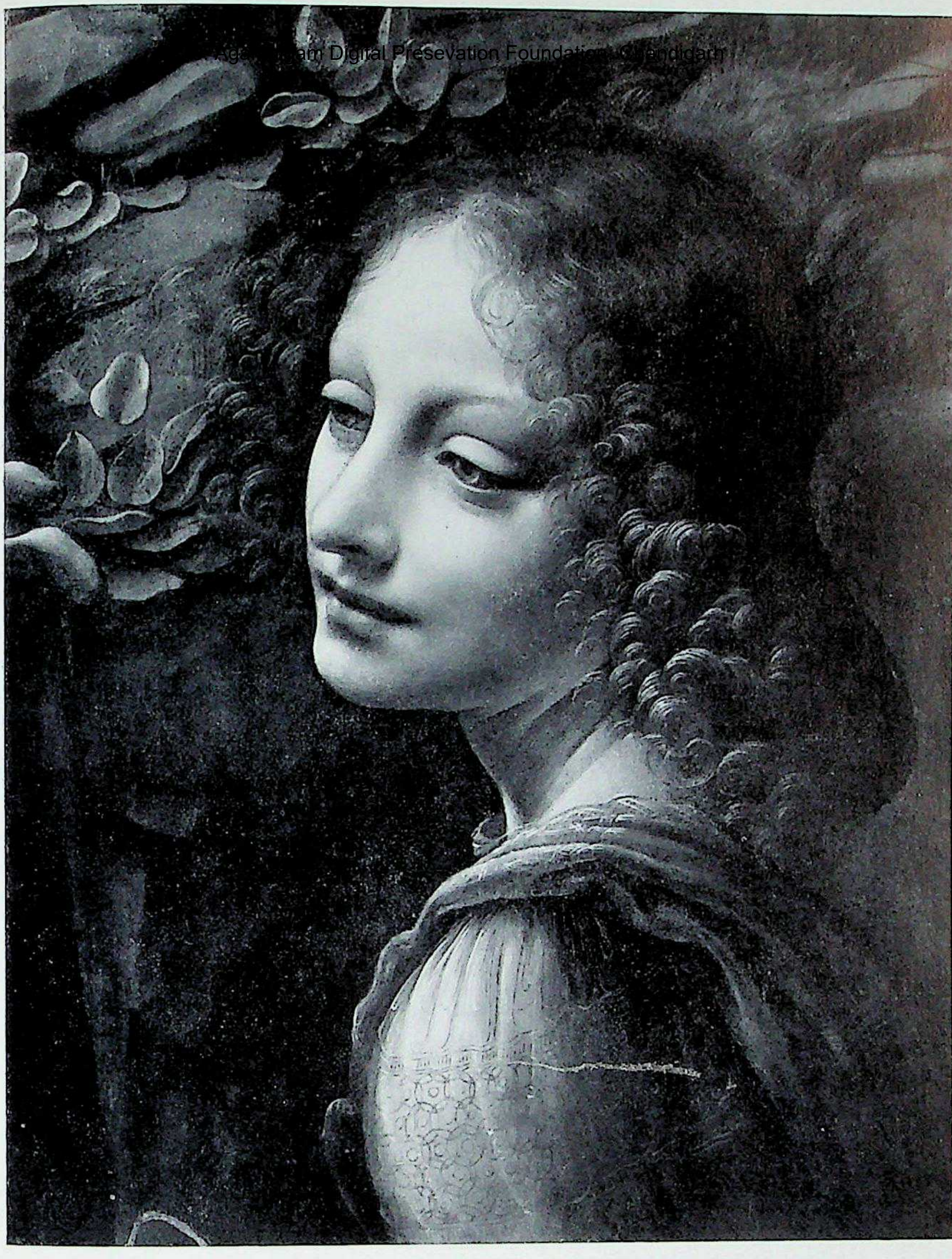
Mona Lisa is Leonardo's greatest advance into the sixteenth century fullness of the human figure, conceived as plastic volume in the surrounding space. As a painterly realisation she is supreme. Never before has the human flesh been so integrated in paint by 'that miraculous subtlety of modelling, that imperceptible melting of tone into tone, plane into plane.' (Clark). The nervous sensibility of her face is inscribed in the passages around her eye and mouth, and the undulating surface of the skin contrasted by pleated bodice and crumpled sleeve. As to the unity of spirit and outward form, her weariness, her 'unfathomable smile,'—its classical interpretation must still be read in the pages of Walter Pater.

The outlines of Leonardo's being are manifold and illusive. In many ways he attempted the impossible. The huge bronze horse which he modelled in clay but could not cast, became a target for the French crossbowmen. His great wall paintings, the *Last Supper,* the *Battle of Anghiari* were left unfinished or technically unsound. Painting for Leonardo was only an intermittent pursuit. Once he had sketched out a plan, expressed his ideas in rapid outline, he left the finishing work to a pupil, hastening away to new ventures of the mind. Countless drawings and preliminary sketches testify to Leonardo's unceasing inquiry into human as well as inanimate form, his love for violent action of horse or man, his interest in the movement of water, the shape of rocks, the writhing of plants. Leonardo is equally conversant with strength as with sweetness, with passionate movement as with the tender expression of soul. He will draw warriors engaged in mortal combat, their faces awry with anguish, and rearing horses with quivering nostrils, or the infinite grace of the Christian Madonna. But it was natural phenomena like a great storm in the Alps or the relentless fall of water as in the late Deluge drawings, which held the greatest fascination for Leonardo. These are in many ways related to his connotations of curling and plaited hair, and their nature is movement of an elemental and threatening kind, an eternal flow.

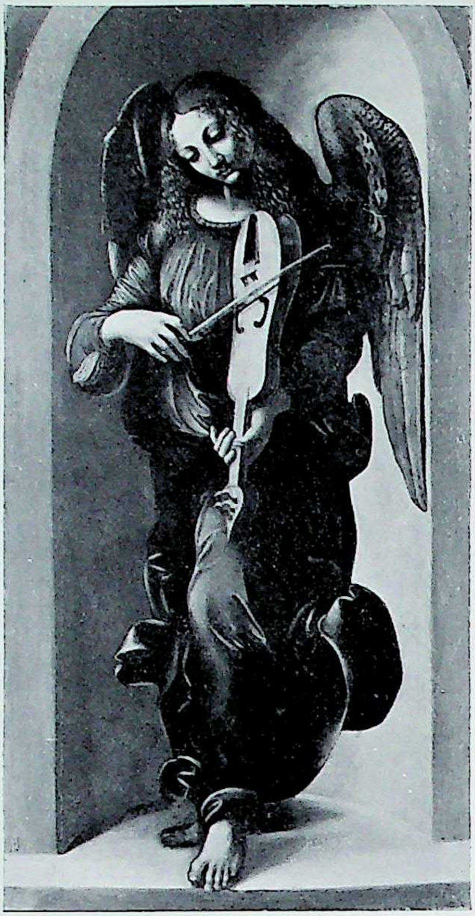
The red chalk drawing of Leonardo's head in Turin comes nearest to express his legend : the magician's gaze under the projecting brow, the sealed lips, the huge skull and the calligraphic arabesque of the long flowing beard. It is the true effigy of the sage, the great self-conscious individual of the Renaissance who, prompted by an insatiable curiosity, enlarged man's knowledge to the outer limits.

In 1506 King Louis XII invited Leonardo to return to Milan. His second sojourn there lasted until 1513. In that year he went to Rome and Pope Leo X offered him residence in the Belvedere, within sight of Michelangelo's Sistine ceiling and Raphael's Stanze. His last work is a *S. John in the Wilderness,* a softly modelled effeminate half nude with ambiguous smile and upraised finger, emerging from the dark penumbra. In 1516 Leonardo turns his back on Italy and follows a call of King Francis I, to be his guest in the castle of Cloux near Amboise. There Leonardo dies in 1519.

Few of Leonardo's assistants and pupils attained a style of their own. The older generation like EVANGELISTA AND AMBROGIO DE PREDIS, whose workshop Leonardo joined on first coming to the

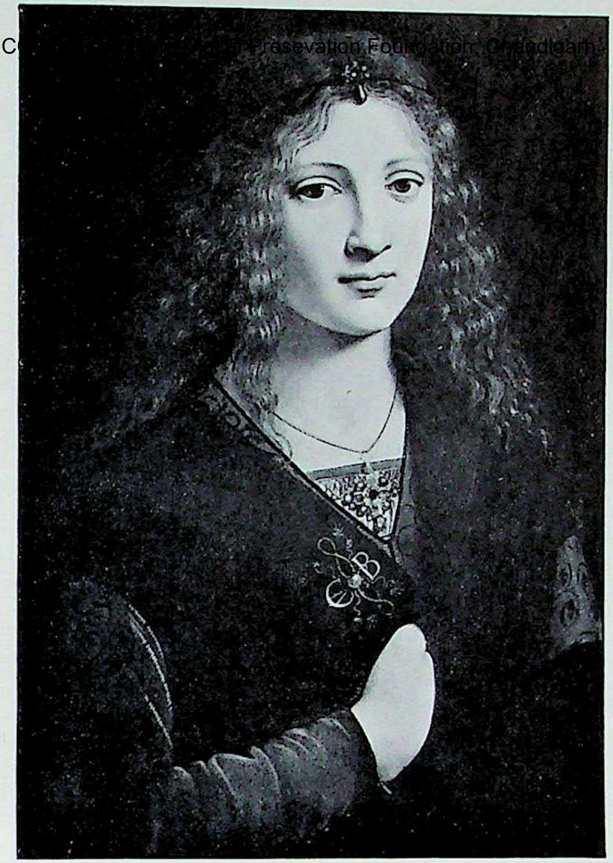


146. LEONARDO. Angel from the *Virgin of the Rocks.* London, National Gallery (photo: National Gallery).



147. de PREDIS. *Angel playing a Viol.* London, National Gallery (photo : National Gallery).

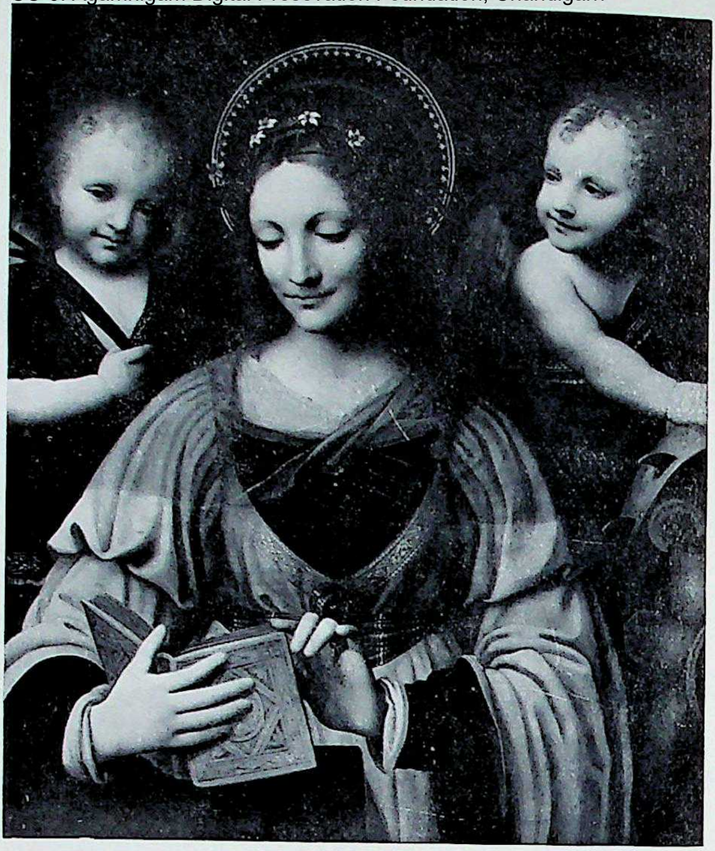
court of Milan, gave up their inflexible Lombard manner for Leonardo's sfumato and delicate facial tints. To de Predis, Leonardo left the task of completing the London version of the *Virgin of the Rocks* and the two wings of angels with lute and viol. While these reveal the Leonardo touch only in their rippling folds and graceful stance, the enchantment of that other Angel in the London *Virgin of the Rocks* and his spirituality go far beyond the power of de
147 Predis. Though the musician-angel has the litheness of the dance, and his tapering hands play the viol with exquisite elegance, though the billowing folds of his olive green dress share the rhythmical quality of his slender form, the face has the wooden lifelessness of
146 de Predis' own manner. By the side of it the Leonardo *Angel*



148. BOLTRAFFIO. Supposed Portrait of Girolamo Casio the Poet. Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth (reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement).

belongs to a different world. The silvery pallor of his face, caressed by brown shadows, the golden filigree of his hair and of the pattern on the transparent dress, the tender curves which circumscribe his lowered eyelids or the contours of cheek and chin are pictorial means of such utter refinement and frailty, as none but Leonardo could accomplish.

If Ambrogio de Predis was an established master in Milan, who for a time became his pupil's pupil, GIOVANNI ANTONIO BOLTRAFFIO spent his formative years in Leonardo's workshop as his foremost assistant (1491–98). Boltraffio added his own distinct note to Leonardo's pictorial language. Although he imitated his master's types, the smile of his Madonnas, the effeminate beauty of youth,



149. BERNARDINO LUINI. *S. Catherine of Alexandria.* London, National Gallery (photo: National Gallery).

the background of rocks and water, he created calm, monumental figures of Classical repose and loveliness.

L'unico allievo del Vinci—the incomparable pupil of Leonardo—148 was the summing up of Boltraffio by the poet Casio, whose supposed portrait is in the Chatsworth Collection. For in his best period Boltraffio painted beautiful male portraits in Leonardo's manner, a calm Classical type, the softly modelled face well lit and framed by the long gold thread of hair. And here the gifted pupil commemorates in his simpler idiom something of Leonardo's ideal, enhanced by the shimmering elegance of gems and brocades and the deep glow of his colours.

Other pupils imitated Leonardo's external manner and painted full scale pictures after his drawings, often in a coarse and blown up travesty of their master's style. Some of Leonardo's finest inventions only exist in his pupils' copies like the mythology of *Leda and the Swan* by Cesare da Sesto or the *Salvator Mundi* by Marco d'Oggiono, an ambiguous youthful shape, but beautifully drawn with golden ringlets and the soft chiaroscuro of facial modelling.

BERNARDINO LUINI was a more independent artist, formed by the old Lombard School of Foppa and Borgognone who, in contact with Leonardo enlarged his vision without losing his identity. In his firmly knit and appealing Madonnas he developed a form-creating power and monumentality, and the innocent smile of his Virgins and female Saints—like that of *Catherine of Alexandria*—has none 149 of Leonardo's disturbing mystery.

The influence of Leonardo must be traced far beyond the confines of the Milanese School to the other great masters of the sixteenth century. These, like Giorgione, Raphael, and Correggio, were affected by the wealth of formal inventions, the mystery of his hazes and half-lights, and the utter refinement of his modelling. His Florentine contemporaries Fra Bartolomeo and Andrea del Sarto develop further Leonardo's pyramidal grouping and expressive sfumato.

XXII. THE CLASSICAL IDEAL.

Raphael of Urbino.

RAPHAEL'S life divides into three phases: Umbrian youth, Florentine manhood, Roman maturity. He was a great assimilator. He learnt the mastery over space from Perugino, the softness and delicacy from Leonardo, the sculptural firmness from Michelangelo. His Florentine Madonnas combine grace, human tenderness, and solid form. He had the 'power of grasping the ideal through the senses.' In the Vatican frescoes he evolves his humanistic vision, where the Christian mysteries and the life of Antiquity attain visible form in monumental figure compositions which are the quintessence of the High Renaissance.

We turn to RAPHAEL for the harmony and perfection he gave to man and his universe. Leonardo delved more deeply into the mysterious forces of life, Michelangelo expressed his spiritual strength in the violent movement of athletic bodies; Raphael bore within him a world of unruffled serenity and calm. In him the Antique craving after an ideal of the human form had come to fruition, a norm of perfection in which the spirit and the senses were evenly balanced.

Raphael's life unfolds flower-like in organic stages: childhood and youth in Umbria, young manhood in Florence, maturity in Rome. The image of the boy and of the youth can be traced in the picture cycles of his Umbrian wanderings. His father Giovanni Santi was a painter of local fame in his native Urbino. Here the boy grew up within reach of the ducal palace and famous collections, friend of Bramante and pupil of the best Umbrian masters. Perhaps in 1497 he met Pietro Perugino, who invited him to Perugia, where together with Pintoricchio he worked at sacred pictures for provincial churches.

Among Raphael's earliest known paintings is the *Dream of the*
150 *Knight* where a youth in armour lies asleep on his shield, while twin goddesses stand over him with their gifts of valour, wisdom and love. In the landscape of winding river and rolling hills under the roseate sky Raphael's knight, dreaming under the laurel tree, is the poetic image of his own young glory.

In 1500, the seventeen year old master painted his first altarpiece for Città di Castello, the *Coronation of S. Nicholas di Tolentino* of
151 which only fragments remain. One of them is a youthful Angel, in the Museum of Brescia, of infinite loveliness in the slight incline of

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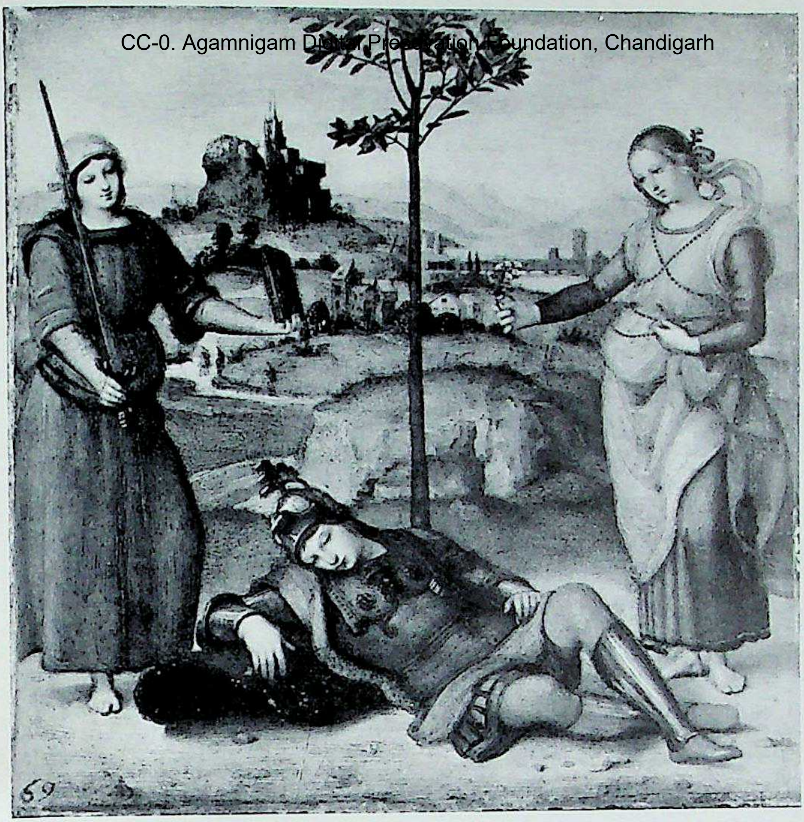
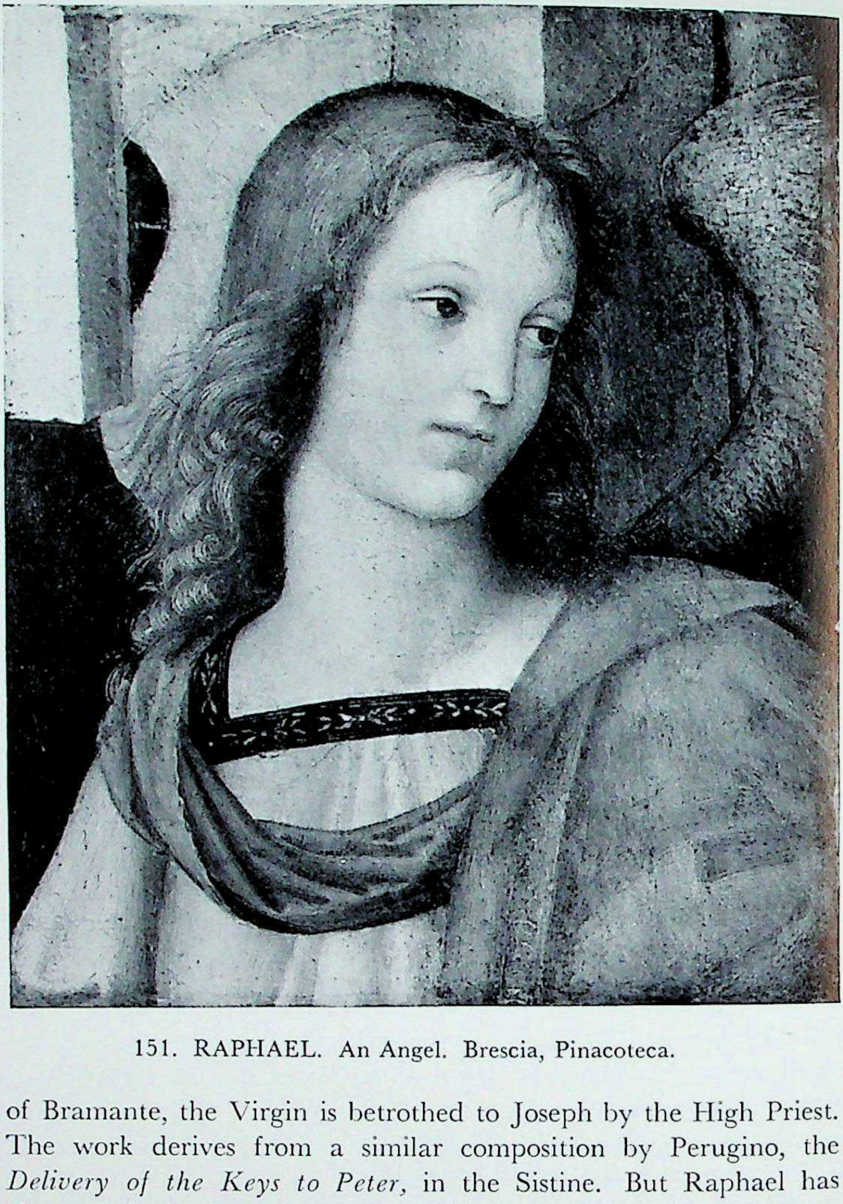


150. RAPHAEL. *Dream of the Knight.* London, National Gallery (photo: National Gallery).

his head, firmness of curves and glowing clarity of colour. The oval face, the golden curls tipped with light, the ruby lips are foiled by the green wings, the paler green of his tunic and the red mantle. Perugino's type and sentiment are here ennobled by a seriousness and distinction, and, as in all Raphael's figures, beauty of earthly raiment blends with the Christian spirit.

Also for Città di Castello Raphael painted in 1502 the large *Crucifixion,* which is now in the National Gallery. Though he employs Perugino's types of yearning Saints, he surrounds them with a new vastness of luminous sky and assimilates his master's feeling for space, aerial perspective, and transparent atmosphere.

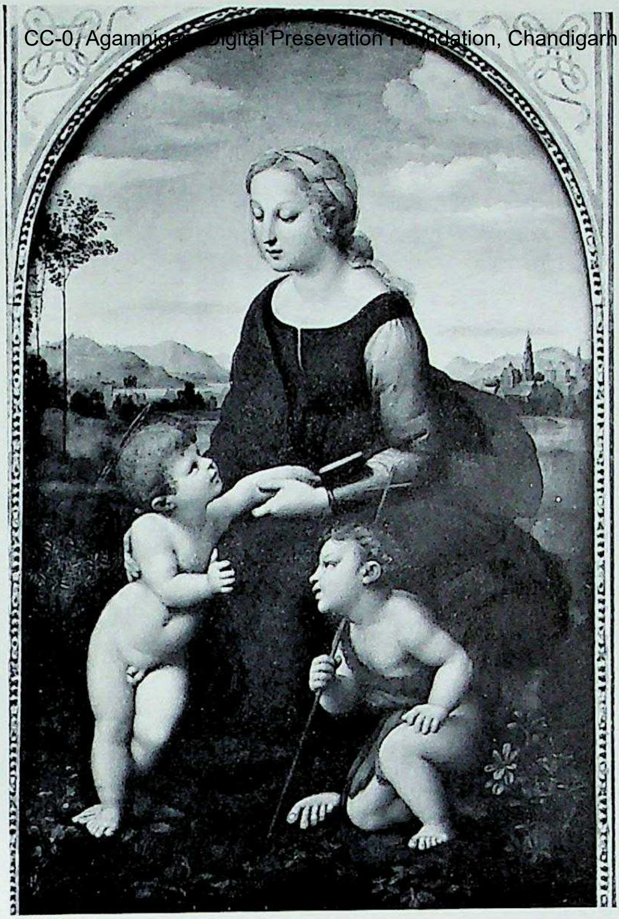
But the masterpiece of Raphael's Umbrian youth is the *Marriage of the Virgin* (1504) in the Brera Museum. In the forefront of a vast architectural prospect, crowned by a distant temple in the style



151. RAPHAEL. An Angel. Brescia, Pinacoteca.

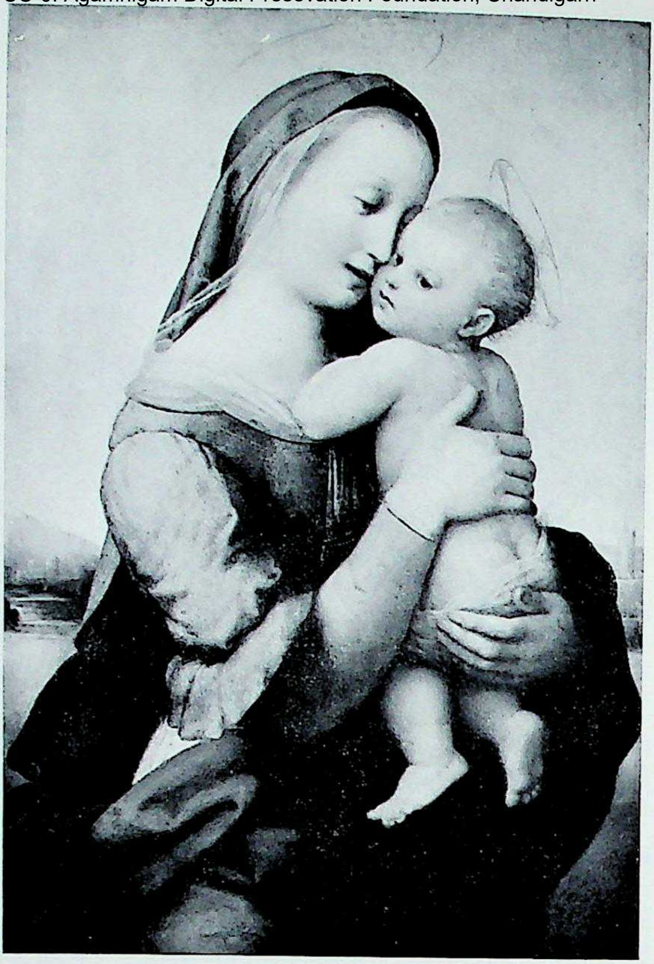
of Bramante, the Virgin is betrothed to Joseph by the High Priest. The work derives from a similar composition by Perugino, the *Delivery of the Keys to Peter,* in the Sistine. But Raphael has changed the horizontal grouping of his master into an upright composition, where noble figures in Classical symmetry converge upon the centre, before the long perspective of tiles leading to the steps of the dome and the infinity of Umbrian hills. In the familiar faces of Raphael's friends and masters here portrayed, his own immaculate draughtsmanship is joined to the yearning placidity of Perugino's saints.

In the summer of 1504, Raphael, now a fully fledged master,



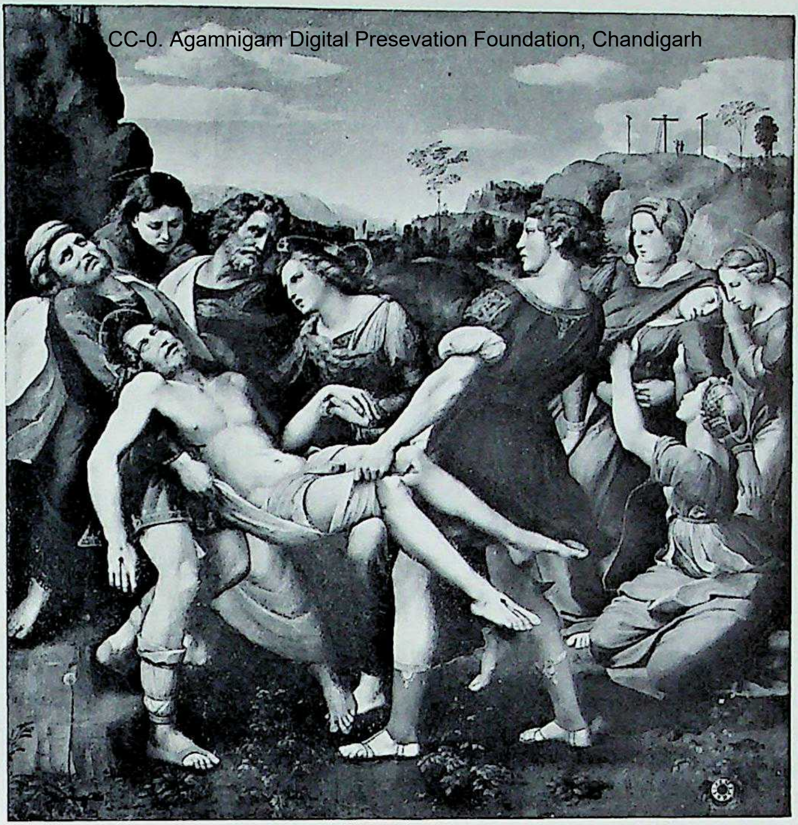
152. RAPHAEL. *La Belle Jardinière.* Paris, Louvre (photo: Giraudon).

follows Perugino to Florence, and now under the impact of Leonardo and Michelangelo who were at work at their Battle cartoons in the Palazzo Vecchio, he begins to free himself from Umbrian conventions. He had learnt from Perugino a classical purity of design, a glowing richness of colour, the organisation of space. Now he was to develop a greater variety of inventions, a richer scale of expression, a more painterly style of modelling. In the Florentine Madonnas which he painted between 1506 and 1508, and more especially in the groups where the Madonna offers the Child to the worship of the little S. John, he uses to great effect the pyramidal grouping of Fra Bartolomeo, the compactness of Michelangelo, and the 'curvilinear softness' of Leonardo.



153. RAPHAEL. *Madonna Tempi.* Munich, Alte Pinakothek (photo : Bayer. Staatsgemälde-Samm.).

Raphael, like Giovanni Bellini, found in the Christian Madonna the perfect vehicle for his Christian humanism. In the *Madonna with the Goldfinch* and *La Belle Jardinière* he evolved a structural design of human significance and spiritual grace. The pyramidal **152** pattern suggests itself by the grouping of the children, where the kneeling S. John worships the Christ. The natural grace of young children who delight in one another, and the tenderness of feeling of the Madonna are reflected in the enveloping beauty of the Tuscan countryside. From the Leonardesque plants and grasses in the foreground to the dream-like hill ranges in the distance, from the



154. RAPHAEL. *Deposition of Christ.* Rome, Galleria Borghese (photo: Anderson).

single tree silhouette to the slate grey houses and steeples of the enchanted city under the airy dome of clouds and azure, it is Raphael's ideal landscape. Here, within the enveloping folds of her mantle, he has placed the solid form of the young mother, robed in crimson and greenish blue.

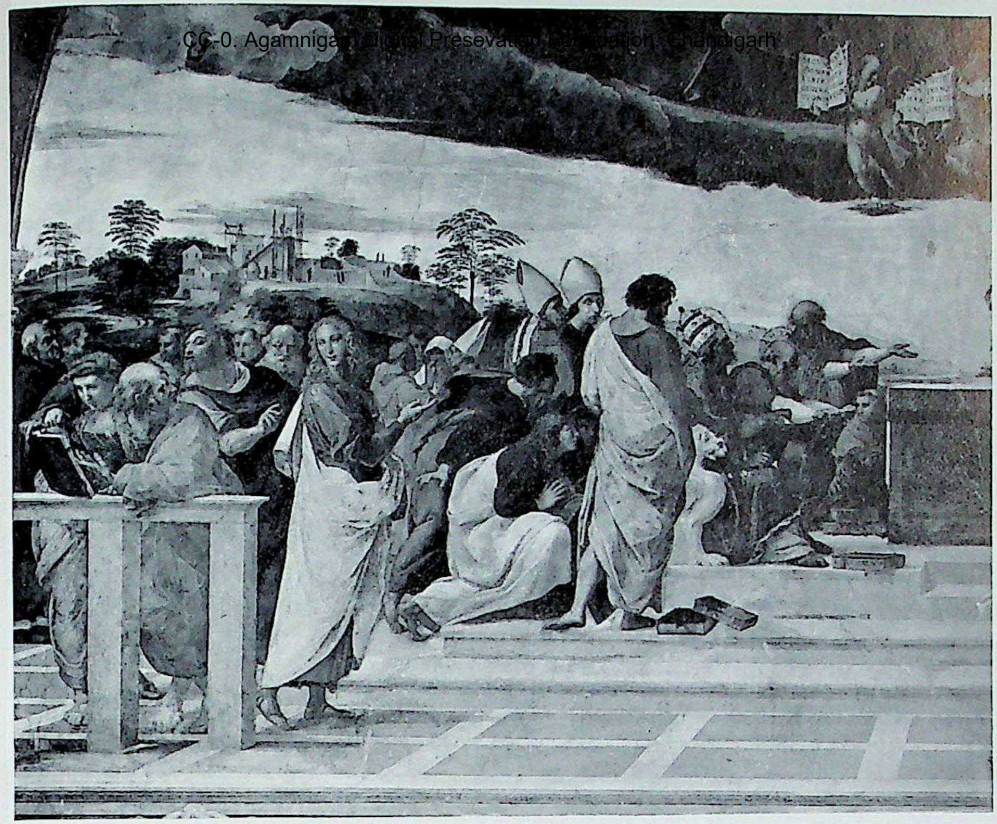
Simultaneously Raphael developed other forms of Madonnas, and more particularly the half length with the Child upright in her arms like the *Granduca* and the *Madonna Tempi*, and here no young Baptist distracts from the mystical and the formal union of Mother and Child. The *Granduca* is perhaps the most spiritual of the group. The influence of Leonardo can be felt in the penumbra from which the shimmering form is detached, and in the lowered eyelid of the Virgin, weary with presentiment of the Child's fate. The *Granduca* is memorable for the perfect oval of her face, the hardly perceptible smile upon her lips, and the tender melancholy of expression.

If the *Granduca*'s grace and suffused colour are in the spirit of
153 Leonardo, the *Madonna Tempi,* the last of his Florentine Madonnas, more passionate and more severe, bears the mark of Fra Bartolomeo. Here too, the Child rests upon the Madonna's hand, but she does not merely present it to the world, she clutches it to her breast as if in anguish, while the Child looks earnestly out of the picture. This forceful group rises up steeply before a veiled landscape in sculptural grandeur, and is an anticipation of Raphael's Roman style.

154 Before leaving Florence Raphael painted his *Deposition of Christ* in which he attempted a coherent group of virile figures in violent movement. In a landscape of Tuscan beauty with dainty trees and the white clouds of summer, the three crosses on the hillside cast their shadow and the figures reverberate the emotion of Golgotha. The body of Christ, relaxed as if in sleep, was inspired by an Antique sarcophagus of the Burial of Meleager.

The Entombment receives its momentum from this central group and from the contrast of spirit and movement of the two bearers. The older man, straining every nerve as he steps backwards and looking with agonised yearning up to Heaven, is opposed by a Roman youth of athletic build, who gazes manfully at the Lord and seems to carry his burden without effort. The body of Christ, His shoulders thrust upwards, His head reclining conjoins the two groups. On the right three women support the swooning Mary; and here, a maiden sitting on the ground swings her whole body around to receive the Mother of Christ in her arms. Vibrant emotion is expressed in a wave of lofty figures and in their movement and counter movement around the Classical nude of Christ's Body. Yet the balanced design, so accomplished in individual parts, lacks the sustained and unifying force which transforms an academy of Classical figures into a work of tragic significance.

In the summer of 1509 Raphael arrived in Rome. He was at once employed in the Vatican, where a host of Italian artists were decorating the apartments of Pope Julius II. Bramante was designing the new S. Peter, and Michelangelo preparing to start on the Sistine Chapel. Raphael soon superseded the artists who had been summoned to decorate the 'Stanze.' He conceived a plan, by which he would represent in allegorical figures upon the vault, and in great narrative frescoes beneath, the highest faculties of the human spirit: Religion—Poetry—Philosophy and Justice. These form the subject of the Stanza della Segnatura, which besides the



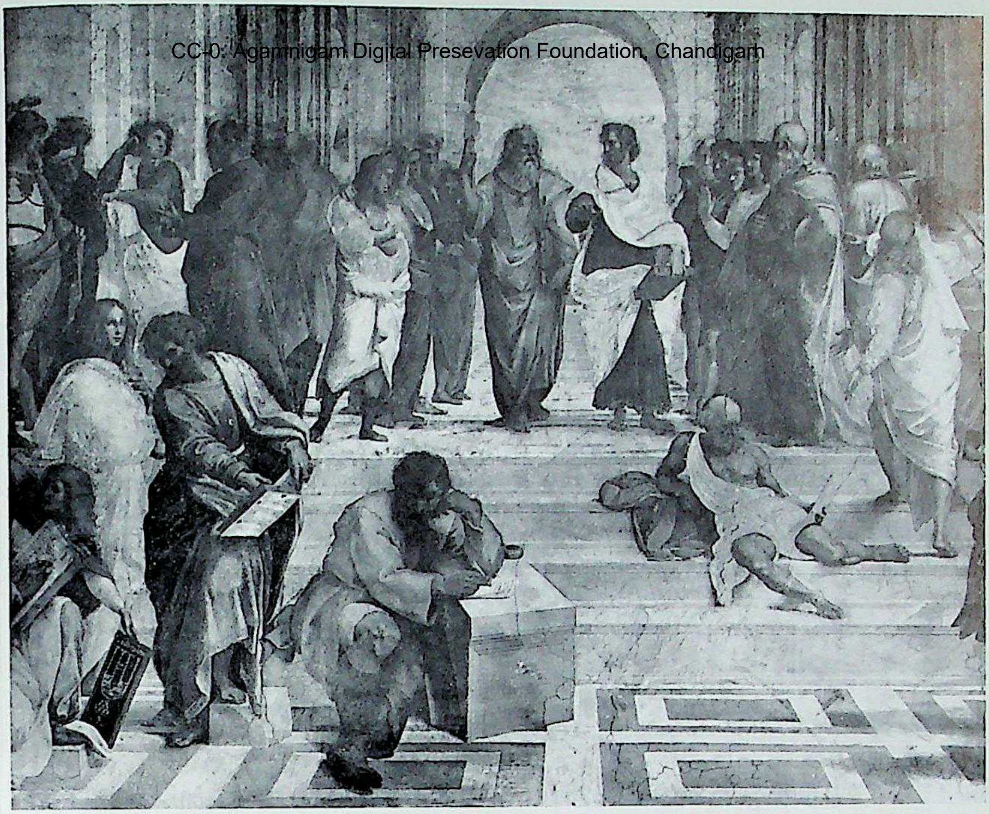
155. RAPHAEL. *Disputa del Sacramento*: detail. Rome, Vatican (photo: Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale).

Sistine ceiling is the greatest mural decoration of the sixteenth century.

The centre of the *Disputa del Sacramento* is the symbol of the Eucharist, raised high upon the altar against the brilliant sky, and above it the Holy Trinity, in the vertical axis of the picture space. As the Madonna and the Baptist worship Christ, who has raised His hands with the stigmata in the act of blessing, so Apostles, Saints, and Patriarchs enthroned upon clouds, surround the Saviour in a wide circle. Beneath, on either side of the altar, the four Doctors of the Church are seated in ecstasy or meditation, and behind them stand Popes and monastic founders and a great surging throng of enthusiastic believers. Raphael's skill in the *Disputa* lies in the variety of poses, the 'concealed symmetry,' the secret balance of calm upright figures with others in spirited movement, a continuous flow combined with a dignified stance.

The movement leads towards the centre from the left, and here, at the lower extremity of the wall, leaning upon the parapet and discussing the Scriptures, in sight of the square marble blocks of the new S. Peter, is a bald-headed man; this is Bramante its architect, the friend of Raphael. But the secret centre of the group, to whom he turns in vivid discourse, is the radiant figure in a white
155 mantle, who leads the small company of friends towards the reality of the Sacrament, which no book can fathom. To him points an older man, looking eagerly over Bramante's shoulder, and from further back, the visionary head of Fra Angelico da Fiesole also looks across to the young leader. As he advances with light angelic tread towards the Sacrament, he seems to embody the living faith. His counterpart is the dark rock-like figure in the great mantle at the foot of the stairs, who turns his back on him in solitary brooding. Thus the *Disputa* is at once a glorification of the Sacrament and a vast historical canvas, where the protagonists of the faith merge with the living realities of Raphael's own time and circle.

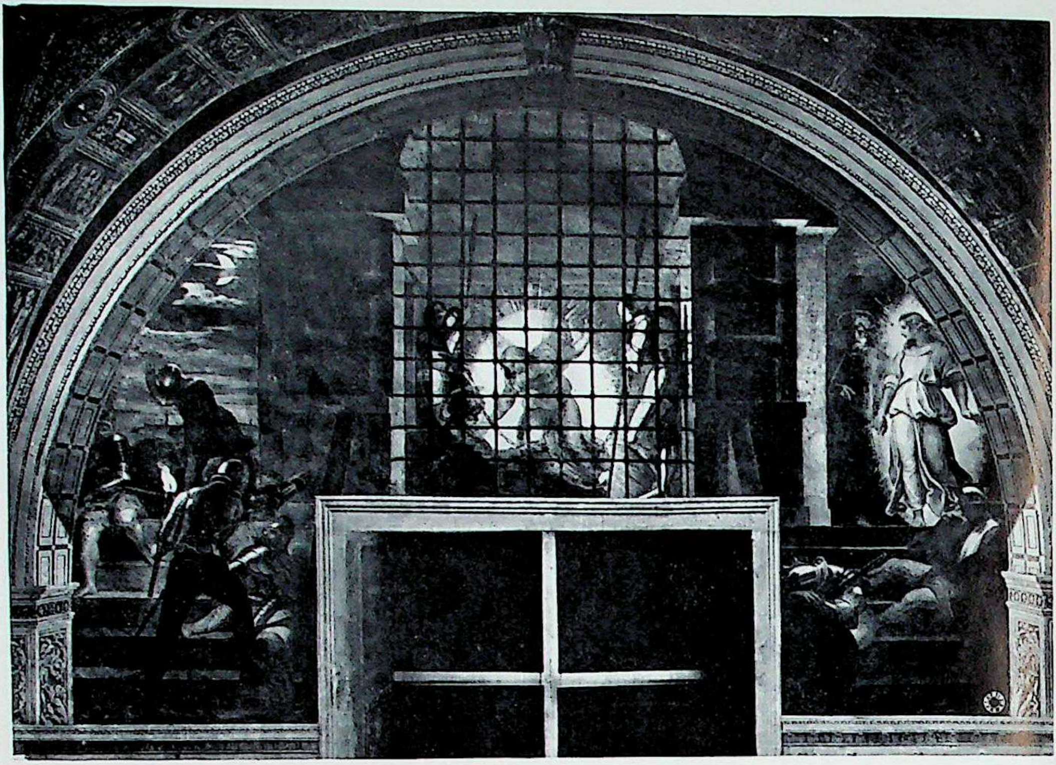
156 In his second mural, the *School of Athens,* Raphael presented Philosophy; not an abstract of ideas, but Greek philosophy of the Schools, in a vision of their greatest protagonists, and the life of the palaestra, where Greek youths after their bodily exercises strove as strenuously for the training of their mind. Nowhere has the humanism of the Renaissance led more deeply into the very heart of Greek existence and made visible the reality of Greek life and learning. For here, under the lofty marble vault in Bramante's style and upon the wide marble steps of the School are the masters of antique thought and their pupils: the philosopher-kings in the centre: Plato, majestic visionary, his hand upraised to the realm of ideas, and Aristotle, the man of the world, surveying the Universe before him. As his arm sways over the assembly, he looks across to the youngest listener on Plato's side, perhaps his pupil Alexander. Near him is Socrates who, himself a stonemason, demonstrates on his fingers the points of his argument to another workman in a dark cloth cap, while youthful hearers, a noble devoted boy and a magnificent helmeted figure listen entranced. A bearded man in this group beckons to another master, perhaps a Sophist, to come and hear what Socrates has to say. A nude Apollo with his lyre is the patron of the wisdom of the Agora, as is Athene opposite, above the imperious ancient wrapped in a dark mantle, with the white beard and fiery eyes of Pope Julius, by whose patronage the great work lives. He looks across to the group surrounding Pythagoras who writes in a book, and to the gracious youth in a white mantle,



156. RAPHAEL. *School of Athens*: detail. Rome, Vatican (photo: Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale).

perhaps the young duke of Urbino, who gazes out of the picture with the ineffable distinction of all Raphaelian youths. Laurel-wreathed, his book leaning upon a plinth, is Democritos, and behind him a ten year old boy with a rich crown of hair—Federigo Gonzaga who lived in the Vatican at that time and was the young favourite of Pope Julius.

The solitary figure, resting in deep thought upon his marble block, like one of the prophets of the Sistine Chapel is Heraclitos with the features of Michelangelo, the other great workman in the Vatican whom the glance of Pope Julius embraces. His shape and his monolithic block lend weight to the composition, and lead the eye inward and upward where Diogenes lies upon the steps which a youth hurriedly climbs. But perhaps the most varied group is on the right extremity, where Archimedes with the features of Bramante bends over his slate, encircled by a lively throng of Roman boys, in various

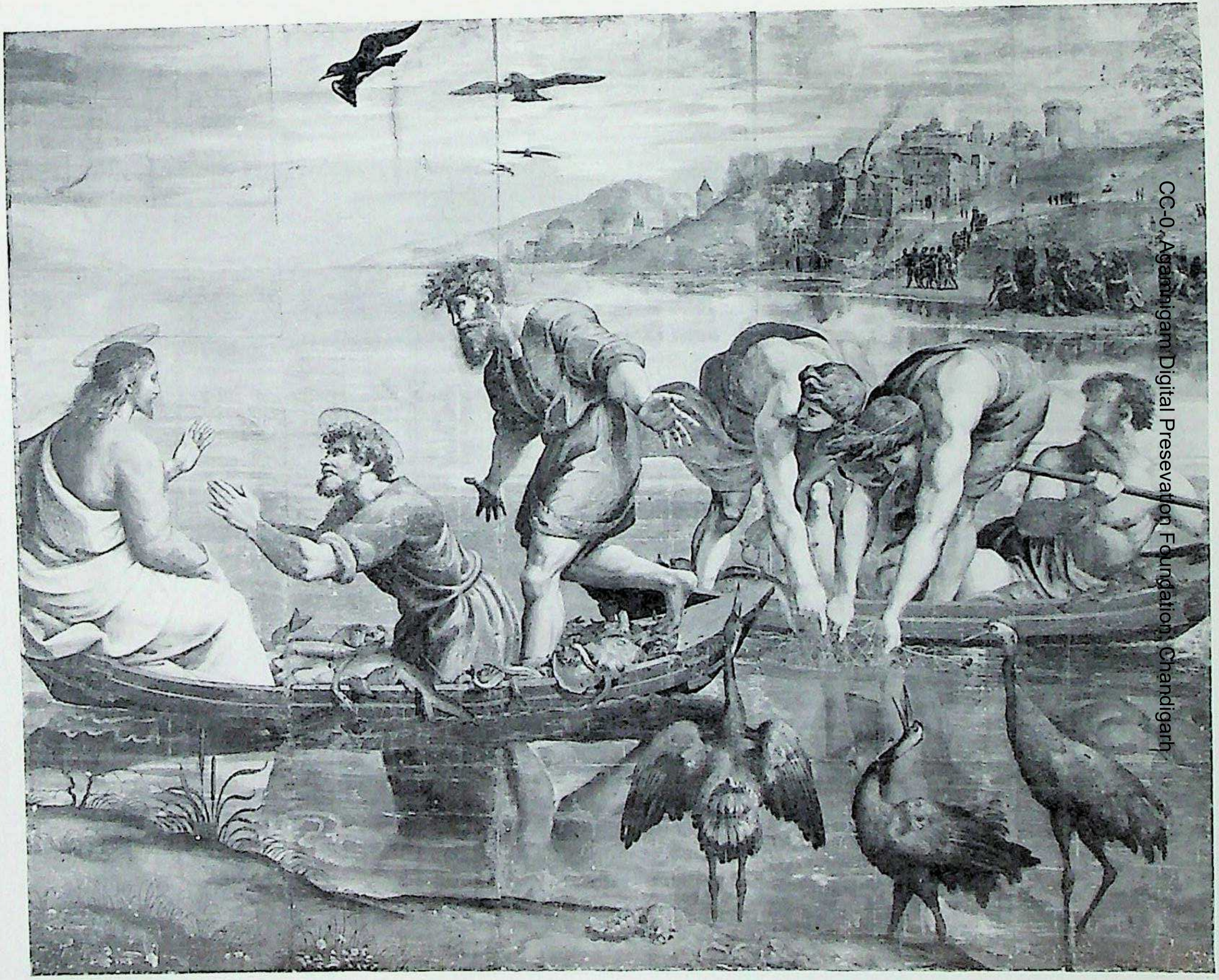


157. RAPHAEL. *Deliverance of S. Peter from Prison.* Rome, Vatican (photo: Anderson).

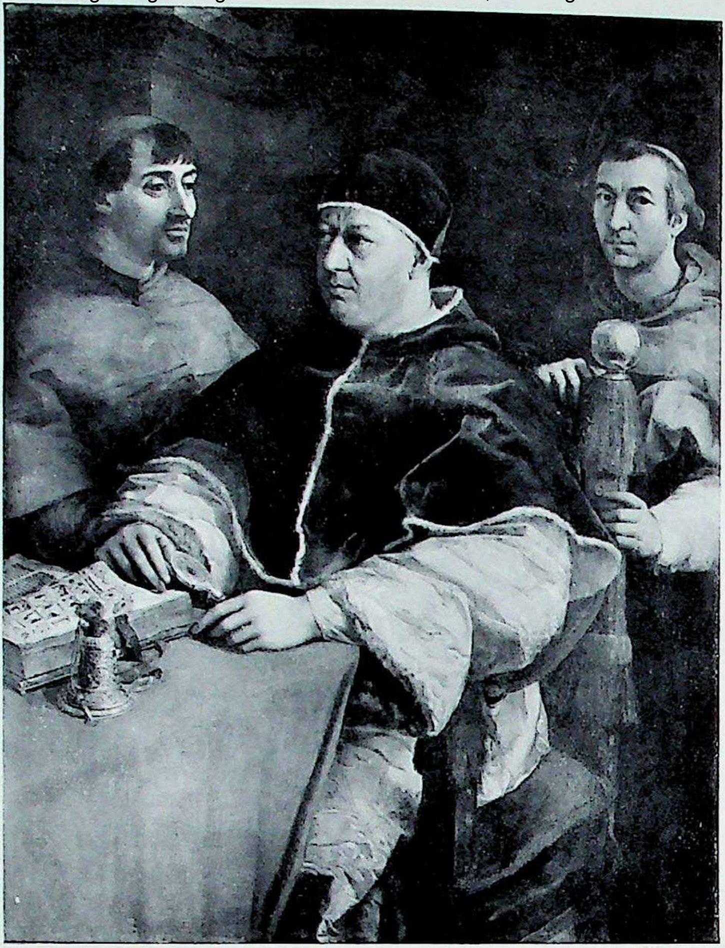
states of comprehension. Behind these fiery youths of Antique comeliness, enthralled by their master's teaching, are the natural philosophers, the geographer Ptolomaeus and the astronomer Zoroaster, holding in their hands the symbol of the earth and the celestial globe. Zoroaster is a portrait of Pietro Bembo, the learned cardinal and friend of Raphael, who perhaps prompted his humanistic vision, and next to him is the painter's own countenance by the side of Sodoma, his associate in the work at the Vatican.

Beside the *School of Athens* in the Stanza della Segnatura, Raphael represented Poetry as the rhythmical coexistence of Apollo and the Muses on mount Parnassus. He conceived poetry as an assembly of noble figures in Antique garb, standing or reclining in lively groups, the lyric and epic poets of old, stirred to dignified animation by the music of the God and the inspired song of the highest poet.

Between 1511 and 1513 Raphael decorated the second stanza with Histories glorifying Pope Julius II : the *Expulsion of Heliodorus,* the



158. RAPHAEL.
Miraculous Draught of Fishes. London, Victoria and Albert Museum (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum).



159. RAPHAEL. *Pope Leo X and two Cardinals.* Florence, Uffizi (photo: Soprintendenza alle Gallerie di Firenze).

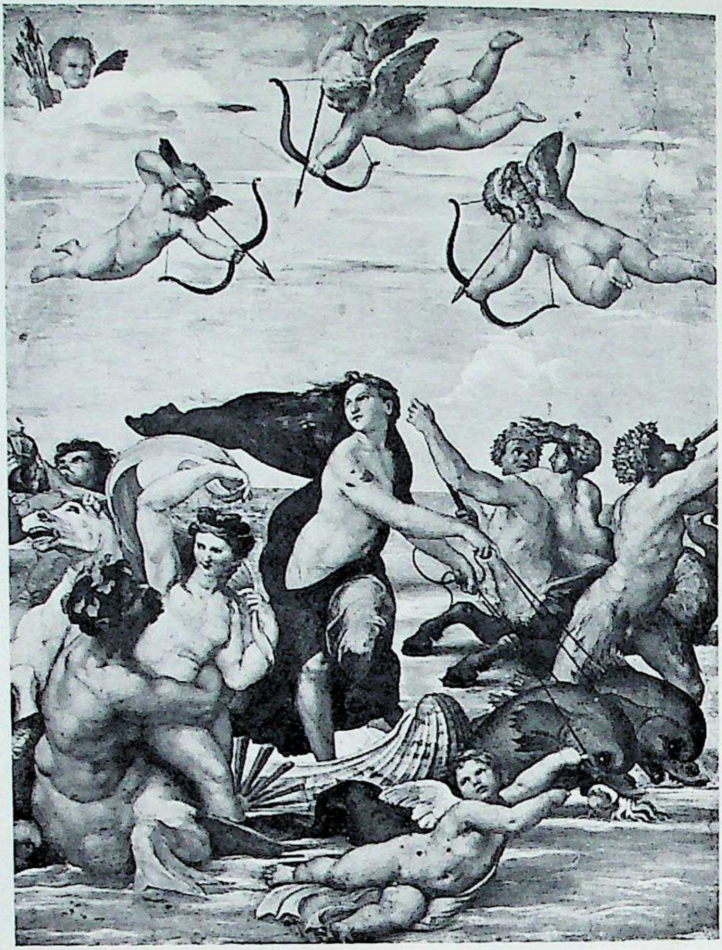
Mass of Bolsena and the *Deliverance of S. Peter from Prison.* In
157 the centre, behind the bars of the prison, S. Peter reclines in heavy sleep, while two guards in armour are leaning against the wall. The angel in a great aura of light, gently touches the Saint on the shoulder and raises his arm to the open doorway. On the right the Apostle with the transfigured countenance of Pope Julius, appears on the summit of the steps, as if walking in his sleep, guided by the great angel in a blaze of light. Beneath them two soldiers lie in huddled torpor, while opposite, the groping guards are awakening in the dim light of torch and crescent moon. In the guise of the

Deliverance of S. Peter from Prison. Raphael painted here the solemn apotheosis of the Renaissance Pope, whom Death had released from his stormy and glorious life.

From the new Pope Leo X Raphael received the commission to prepare the cartoons for ten tapestries with stories from the Acts of the Apostles, glorifying the vocation, the miracles and the preaching of SS. Peter and Paul. One of the most poetic, and the most ingenious is the *Miraculous Draught of Fishes.* Before a wide **158** expanse of tranquil water Peter and Andrew worship the Lord in their small flat-bottomed boat, filled with the great haul of fishes. In a second boat, the sons of Zebedee, athletic half-nude fishermen, strain their muscular bodies to draw in the net, their hair and drapery fluttering in the breeze. Excited herons on the nearby shore mirror the agitation in the boat, and the hills and creeks on the distant bank echo the rising and bending shapes of the fishermen. The bearded helmsman with the oar is like an antique river god. In *Christ's Charge to Peter* memories of Masaccio's *Tribute Money* are still present in the virile shape of Christ commanding Peter with forceful gesture: Feed my Sheep. The noble group of Apostles reflect a variety of emotions: affection, awe, doubt, and dismay. The rocklike solidity of Masaccio's men appears softened by the expression of soul and of spirit, which Raphael translates into movement and facial expression. In the figures of the Tapestries as in those of the Stanze, Raphael speaks the pictorial language of the sixteenth century, where human figures raised to heroic stature, convey concentrated emotion with power, dignity, and restraint.

The Roman Raphael had developed a degree of expressiveness, a mastery of composition and a luxuriance of colour which overflows into his portraits, such as the *Donna Velata,* the *Castiglione* and that of *Pope Leo X and two Cardinals.* The massive shape of the Epicurean Pope, the connoisseur, the man of letters is here **159** portrayed, but also the ruler, the diplomat, and the wit. The sensuous mouth and mobile face, the strong nose and imperious gaze, the flickering lights upon the large and supple planes of the flesh convey a powerful blend of strength and desire. The upright Cardinals are like pillars which frame the seated Pope who is so securely planted in the three-dimensional space, his aristocratic hands laid before him upon the book. The velvety texture and glowing scarlet of the papal robe and the golden white damask of the sleeves are a stupendous feat of pictorial realisation.

After the death of Bramante, Raphael added to his vast commitments the office of architect to the new S. Peter and surveyor of



160. RAPHAEL. *Galatea.* Rome, Villa Farnesina.

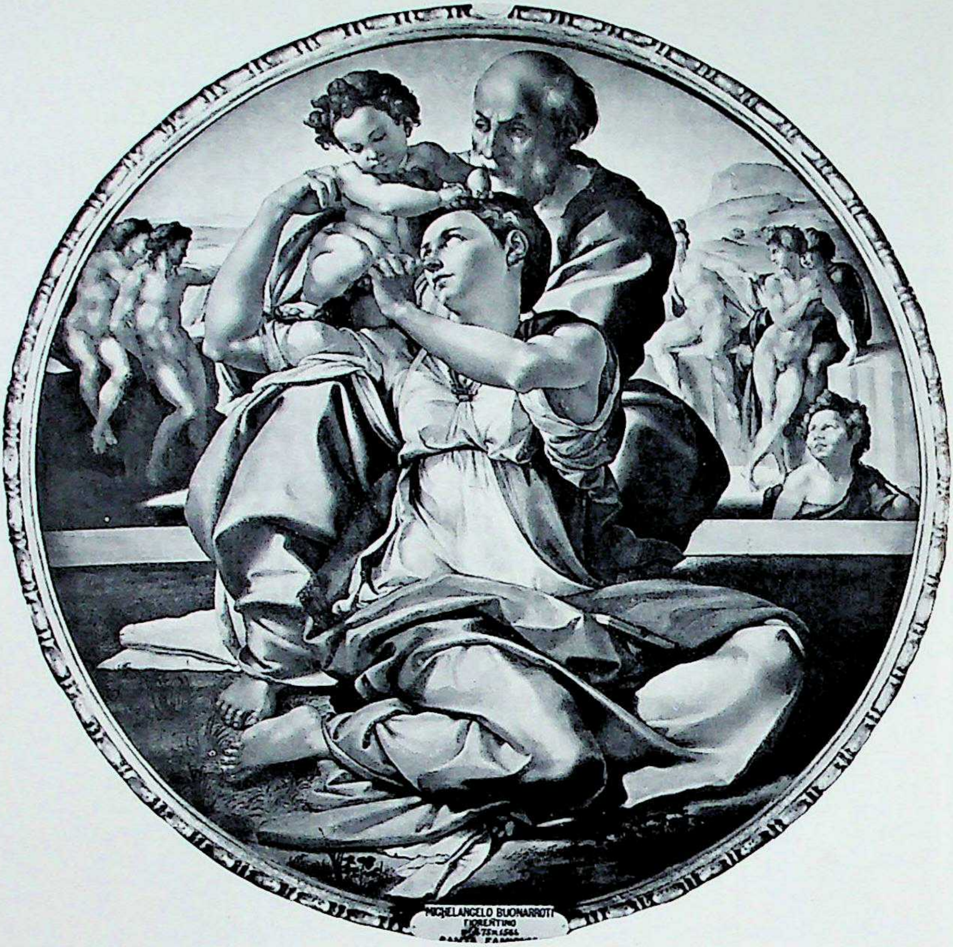
Roman antiquities, and yet found time to decorate the Loggias of the Vatican with stories from the Old and New Testament or the Villa Farnesina with the pagan mythology of Galatea, and to paint his last great altarpieces, the *S. Cecilia,* the Sistine *Madonna,* and the *Transfiguration.* *Galatea* riding the waves in a shell, drawn by dolphins and accompanied by other divinities of the sea, is Raphael's freest fantasy on an antique theme. It is what the *Birth of Venus* was to Botticelli, what the *Bacchanal* will be to Titian. Here is **160** movement in a classical composition; for Galatea is the centre of the lively design, where the groups are subtly balanced, the satyrs and nymphs riding inwards, while the horn and conchblowers strain outwards upon the grey blue surface of the sea. They all take part in the exuberance of the feast. Galatea, immaculate Roman Venus, looks longingly towards the shore, her radiant body foiled by the dark red cloak, fluttering in the wind. The athletic, bronze-coloured Triton and the other mythological creatures of the deep, strain their bodies in dionysiac abandon, their heads crowned with ivy, their looks inspired; for this is a feast of Venus, as winged Cupids from up high shoot their arrows into the fray. Never has Raphael painted more lightheartedly and with greater feeling for an Antique reality than in this decoration of Agostino Chigi's Villa. Raphael had many assistants, but he formed no school worthy of the name. Foremost among his followers were Giulio Romano, Francesco Penni, and Perino della Vaga.

XXIII. THE SCULPTURAL VISION OF MICHELANGELO.

In MICHELANGELO the sculptural ideal of the Florentines attains a dynamic expressiveness and power. His rare easel pictures, like the 'Madonna Doni,' have the incisive contour of high relief. They are the greatest contrast to Leonardo's soft enveloping sfumato. In the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel he creates a heroic race of primeval strength and Olympian beauty. But his 'Last Judgment' and the decorations in the Cappella Paolina burst all confines of Classical painting, engendering Mannerism and Baroque in the writhing, sinuous movement of figures and tempestuous surge out of indefinable depth.

In MICHELANGELO, the third of the master spirits who form the culmination of the Renaissance in Italy, the sculptural ideal of the Florentines came to fruition and finally over-reached itself. He was averse to the soft transitions of Leonardo's pictorial manner and to Raphael's Apollonian ideal of Classical art. His solitary genius created a world of sculptural grandeur and of dynamic expressiveness and power. To Leonardo's sfumato he opposed his rude expressive energy, his clear incisive contours, his bright local colours. He first entered Ghirlandaio's workshop, but his real education began in the Medici Gardens, where under Bertoldo's guidance he was allowed to copy antiques, and where at the table of Lorenzo de' Medici he met the Florentine humanists of the day, Poliziano, Ficino, and Pico della Mirandola.

After the fall of Piero de' Medici from power in 1494, Michelangelo withdrew to Bologna and then to Rome. Here he sculptured his youthful masterpiece, the small *Pietà* in S. Peter, perhaps the



161. MICHELANGELO. *Holy Family.* Florence, Uffizi (photo: Soprintendenza alle Gallerie di Firenze).

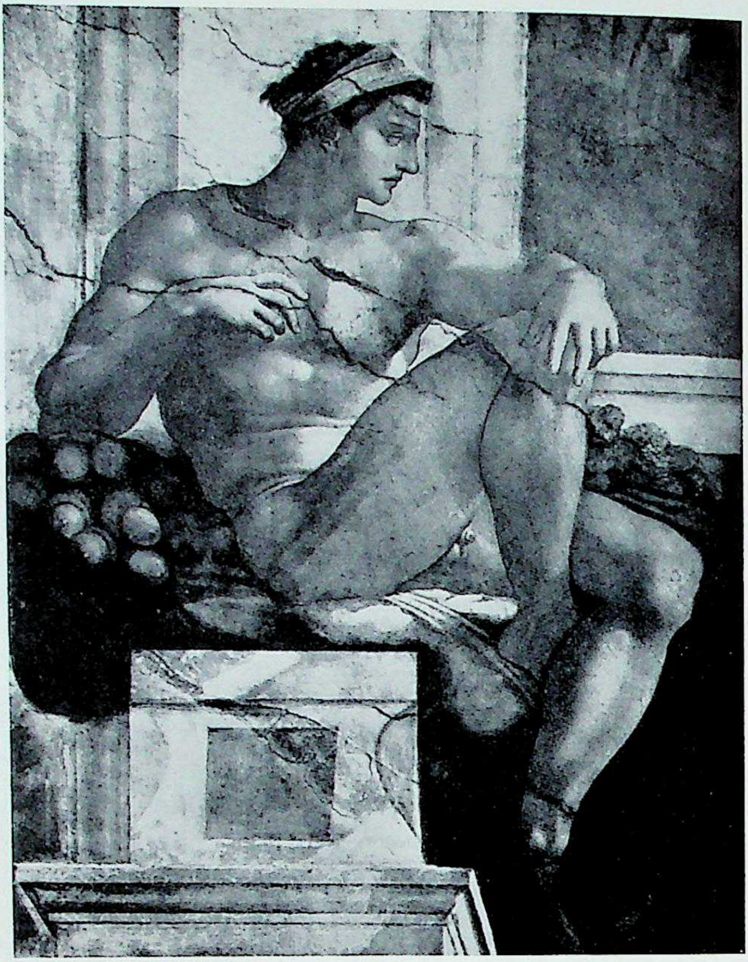
most harmonious of all his works and the most serene. From 1501 to 1504 he is back in Florence, where he fashions the gigantic *David* and paints the *Holy Family* for Angelo Doni. In the cartoon of the *Bathing Soldiers*—'dynamic movement of nude men, caught unawares in the panic of surprise'—he competed with Leonardo's *Battle of Anghiari*. In his pyramidal group of the Madonna reaching out for the Child which S. Joseph holds, he reacts to Leonardo's contemporary cartoon of *The Virgin and S. Anne*.

His avowed aim was to approximate painting to the sculptural
161 decisiveness of relief, and the *Holy Family* (the Doni Tondo) is marked by this excessive plasticity, its clear cut design and daylight

colouring. It is indeed a 'painted sculpture' in its marmoreal compactness, the brilliant planes modelled in the round, the latent energy of the unified group. The impression of coloured stone is enhanced by the dazzling light which bleaches the cherry red of the Madonna's cloak, the pale blue mantle upon her knee, the steely blue of S. Joseph's tunic and the opalescent gold of his mantle. As the Madonna turns to receive the Child, the giant form of her bare arm and neck, her very bones and muscles stand out in the clear light and shade of the modelling. The Madonna Doni, as she sits precariously on the ground, displays none of Raphael's maternal sentiments or charm. The strength of her powerful limbs suggests the Antique heroine, not the Christian mother of God. For Michelangelo's figures belong to an ideal world of Antique beauty and valour, like the young athletes in the background, poised upon great blocks of golden marble. Here the Hellenic statuary of the Medici Gardens has come to life and Michelangelo's nudes are the true emissaries of the Agora, in no obvious contrast to the Olympian grandeur of the *Holy Family* whose companions they are.

In 1505 Michelangelo returned to Rome, to begin work on the gigantic tomb which Pope Julius II had ordered for himself, a mausoleum adorned with forty statues, for which he travelled at once to Carrara to select the marble. But in the following year the Pope's enthusiasm cooled and he conceived the idea of asking Michelangelo to decorate the Sistine ceiling instead. The tragedy of the tomb which embittered Michelangelo's life and to which only three statues, the *Moses* and the two *Slaves* in the Louvre bear witness, is well known. Michelangelo who was of a distrustful nature, wrongly believed that his rivals Bramante and Raphael had persuaded the Pope to employ him in the Sistine Chapel with the uncongenial work of fresco painting.

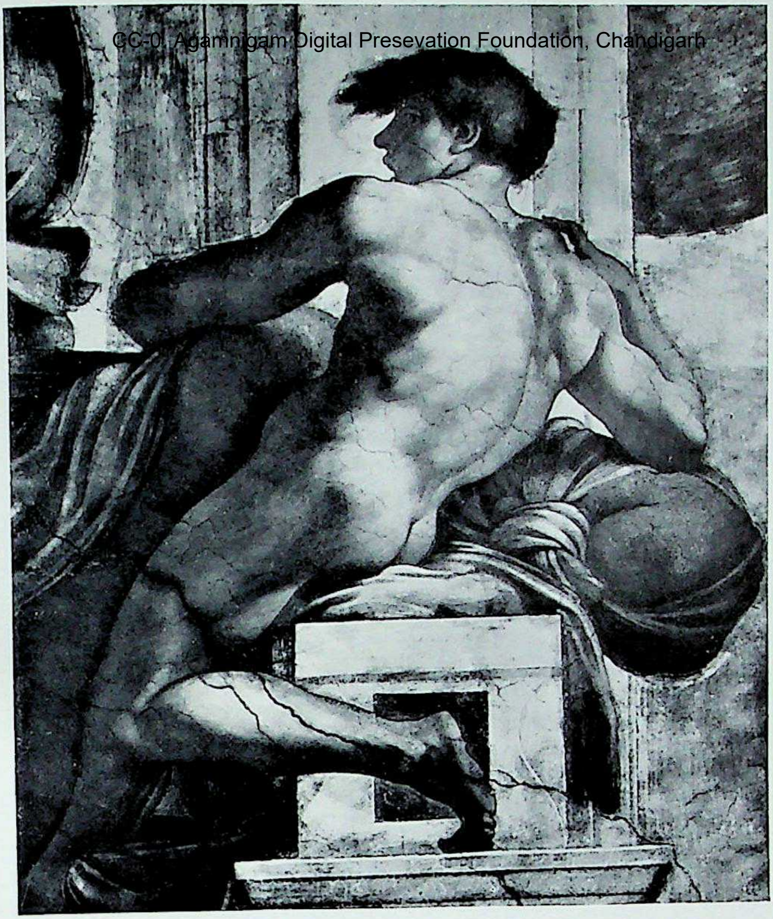
For four years (1508–1512) Michelangelo laboured at the titanic task of the Sistine aided by only two assistants in the mechanics of the transfer of his designs and in the preparation of the colours. At first he intended to paint the Twelve Apostles; but as the Pope gave him full freedom to range over the flat and curved parts of the ceiling, he devised a complex pictorial organism, where architectural features, plinths and spandrels, triangular and oblong fields are closely packed with human figures and biblical story. For Michelangelo the ultimate goal of art was the human nude, and the most 162
prominent figures of the ceiling are twenty nude youths, arranged 163
in pairs and facing one another, in a variety of contrasting postures. These heroic Slaves have a decorative function, dragging garlands or



162. MICHELANGELO. *A Slave.* Rome, Sistine Chapel.

carrying fruit. Some are in repose, some in violent action, displaying their muscular bodies, the parallelism or the contrapost of herculean limbs. Their grandiose anatomies increase in violence, from the early symmetrical groups, breathing a 'noble calm,' to the wild ecstasy of the later Slaves in complicated foreshortening.

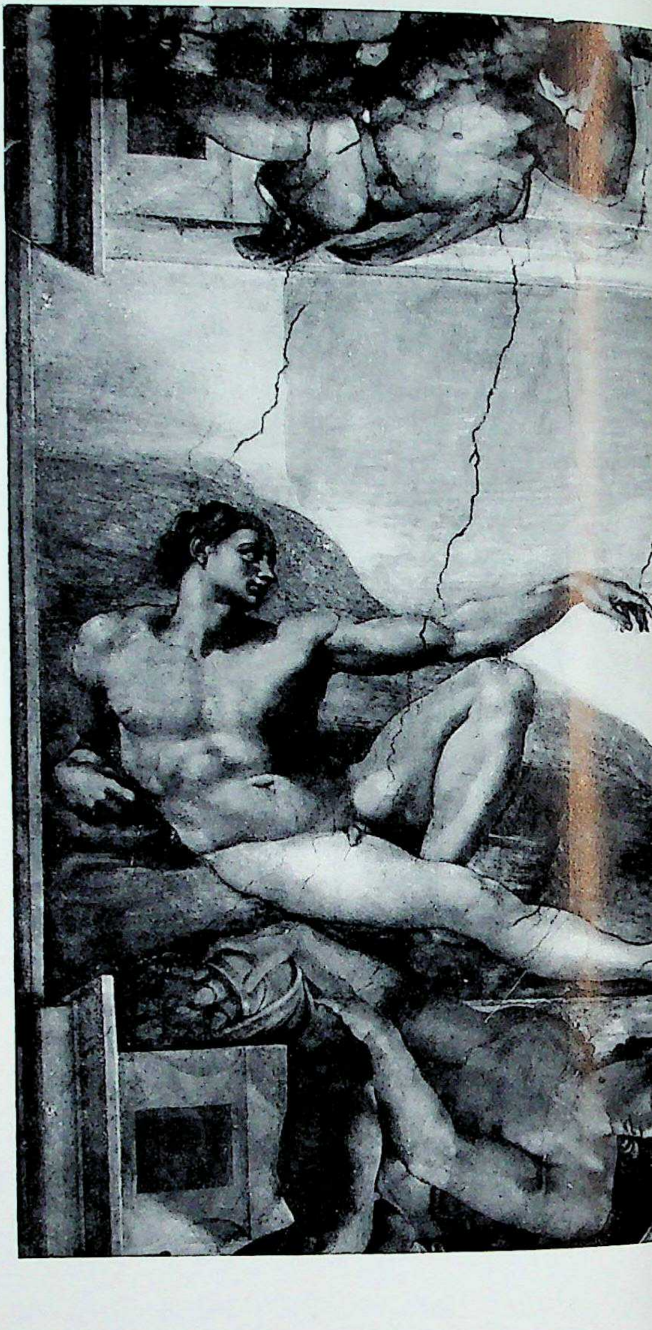
These Classical Dioscuri which Michelangelo linked together in rhythmical groups, frame the central fields with stories from Genesis, whose subject is Humanity before the Redemption: the wrathful God of the Old Testament creating Man and the Universe, the Expulsion from Paradise, the Deluge and the Sacrifice and the Drunkenness of Noah. One of the most powerful among the Histories is the *Creation of Sun and Moon,* and here Jehovah appears



163. MICHELANGELO. *A Slave.* Rome, Sistine Chapel.

twice in a tempestuous onrush of divine majesty, with a simultaneous movement of both arms: the foreshortened right piercing into space to create the sun, while the whole length of his left arm is thrown back towards the moon. The whirl of movement is heightened by a second appearance of God seen from the back, a compact yet articulate bodily mass, as he 'rushes into the depth of the picture like a cyclone.' No artist before Michelangelo has painted so powerful a vision of the Old Testament God and expressed the divine fury of cosmic creation with comparable force.

In the creation scenes of which there are four, God sweeps the heavens like lightning, in a chasm of clouds, and fills the whole



164. MICHELANGELO.
Creation of Adam. Rome,
Sistine Chapel.

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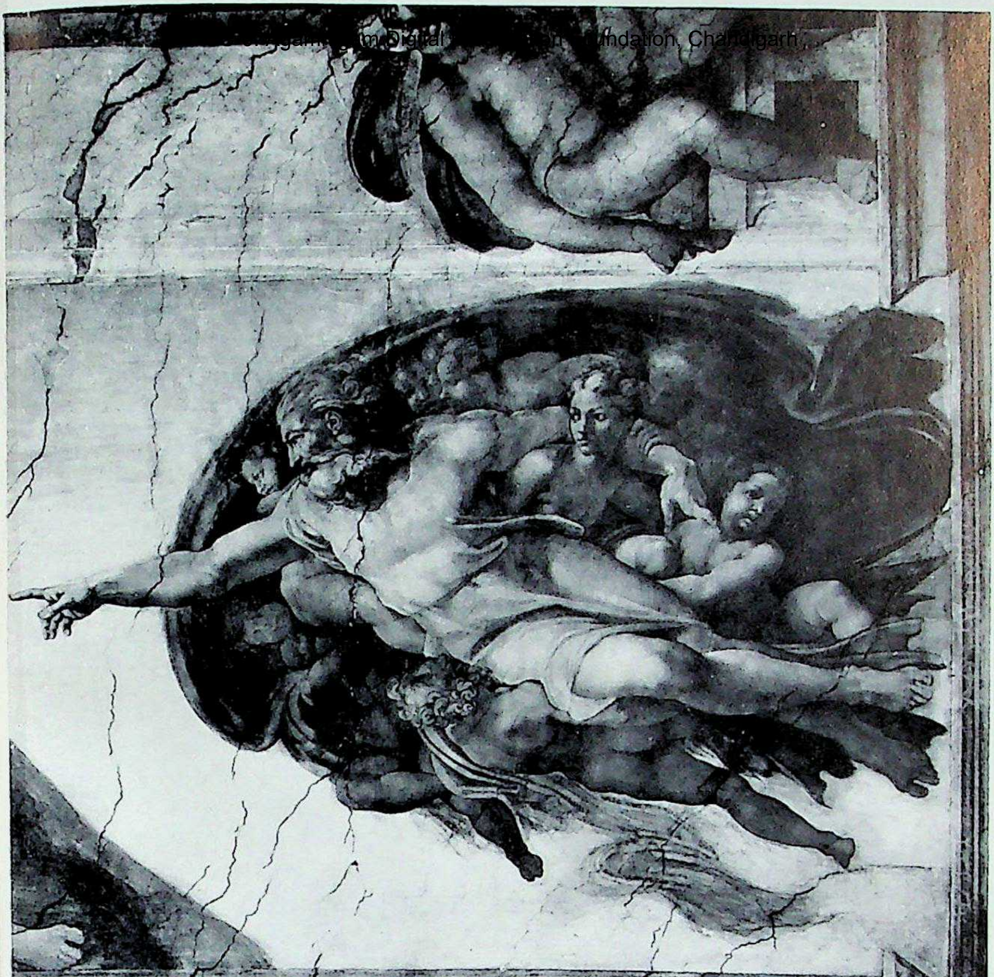
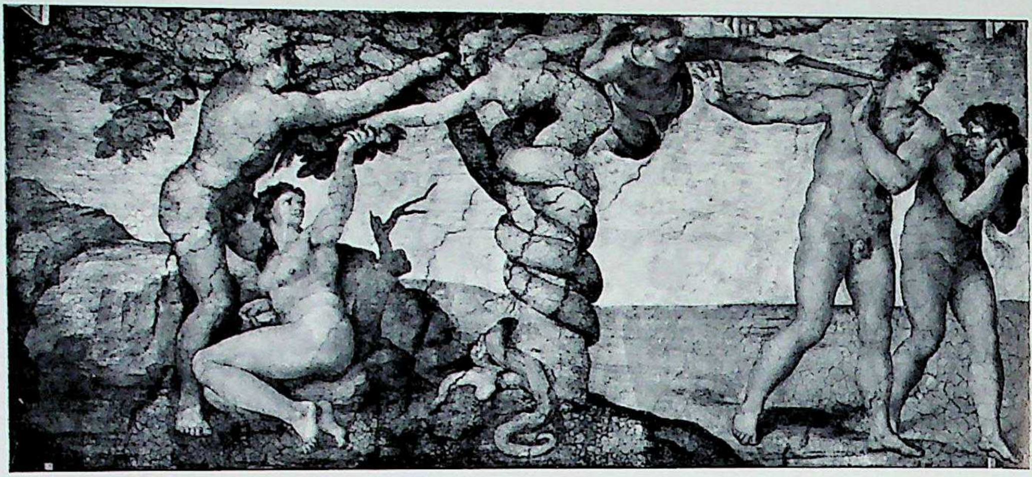
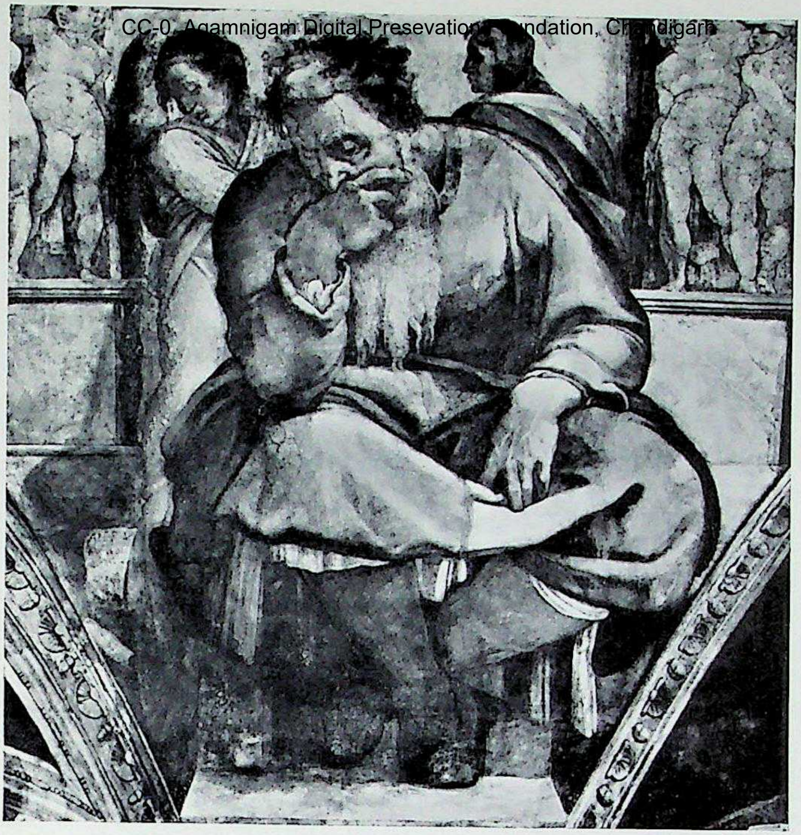




165. MICHELANGELO. *Garden of Eden.* Rome, Sistine Chapel (photo: Anderson).

space with His dynamic presence. Thus He appears in the *Creation* 164 *of Adam,* floating in a great cloud cavity, ringed by angels; His raised index finger gives life to Adam who reclines in utter lassitude upon a barren rock, his heroic body relaxed, awaiting the vital force that will soon flow in his veins and give him strength to rise. The contrast between God's omnipotence and man's weakness, the longing and apprehension of Adam's gaze, the potential power of his great frame are represented in the great curves and planes of his recumbent body, the drooping hand, the half raised head. It is the moment preceding the life-giving touch. Man is awakening from cosmic sleep. Primeval strength and beauty are his. The knee is drawn up, the muscular body about to lift itself from the ground; in an instant man's ardent desire to be, will be answered by contact with the divine spirit.

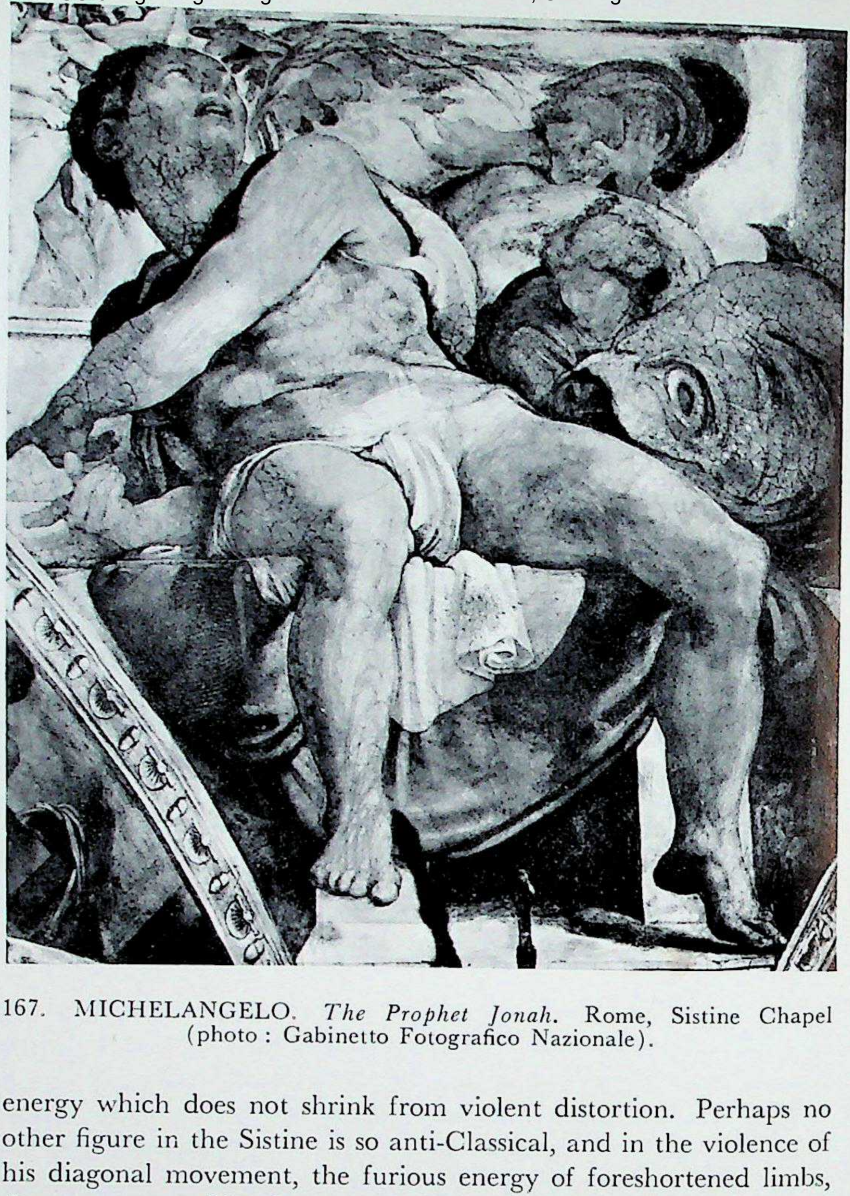
In the next field Michelangelo portrays the fall of man and the 165 expulsion from the *Garden of Eden.* The great leafy trunk, which the serpent with a woman's head and body entwines, is in the centre. Beneath its foliage Eve indolently reclines, like a fertility goddess, the titanic mother of man, her arm raised to receive the forbidden fruit, her massive shape composed into the hollow of the body of Adam, who reaches up into the branches of the tree. Opposite, in a barren land, Masaccio's first parents of man, fleeing from the sword of the avenging angel, have grown to full Renaissance stature. Adam, his face tragically distorted, walks upright, warding off the blow with a gesture of his arms, which also expresses lament over his



166. MICHELANGELO. *The Prophet Jeremiah.* Rome, Sistine Chapel (photo: Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale).

misfortune, while Eve cringes and seeks protection. A breadth of the desolate earth separates them from the luxuriant tree of Paradise, and the two figures seem to walk right out of the picture.

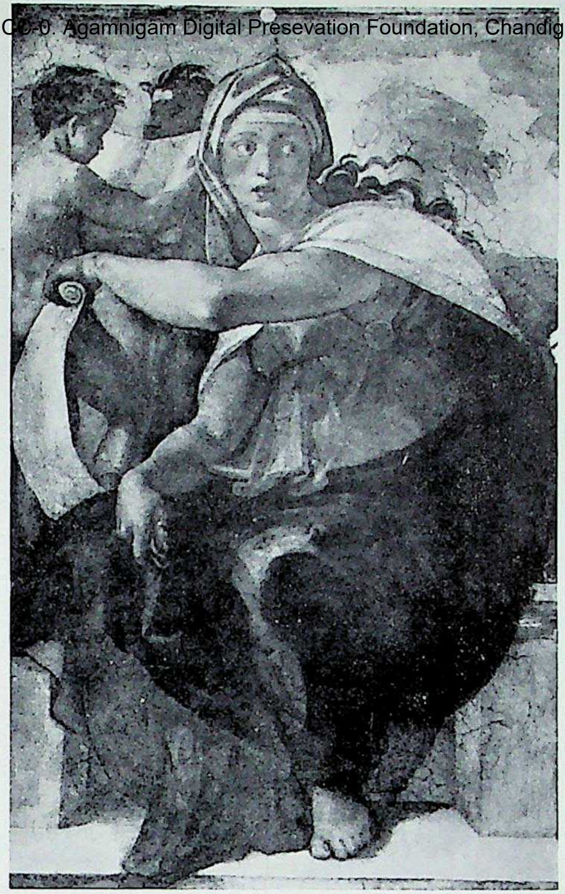
The Prophets and Sibyls, seated in square niches upon thrones beneath the Slaves, are the largest figures of the ceiling and the most sculptural. Their three-dimensional form in arrested or violent movement or deep meditation, aspires to the colossal. Each one reflects a different spiritual experience or mental state, from the 166
solemnity of *Jeremiah's* pondering and enclosed figure to *Ezekiel's* agitation or the vehemence of *Jonah*, who in the throes of divine 167
inspiration thrusts his whole body backwards and counts out the argument on his fingers. Jonah, by the upward twist of his head, the sharp changes of direction between arm and leg, as he throws his whole body backwards to see the vision, conveys that superhuman



167. MICHELANGELO. *The Prophet Jonah.* Rome, Sistine Chapel (photo : Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale).

energy which does not shrink from violent distortion. Perhaps no other figure in the Sistine is so anti-Classical, and in the violence of his diagonal movement, the furious energy of foreshortened limbs, the contrapost of head and body, it anticipates the Baroque.

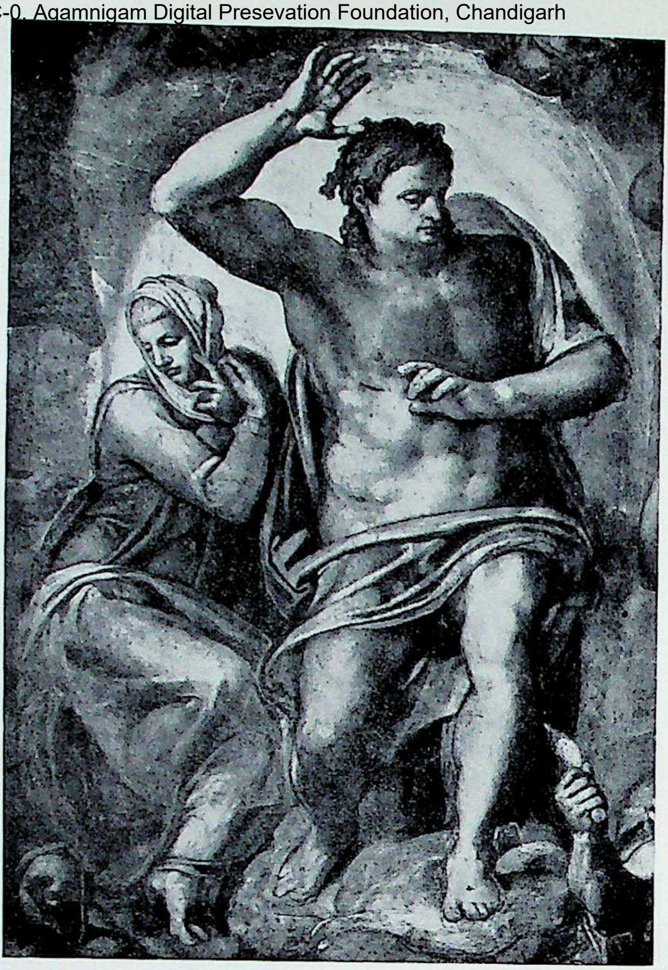
No such violence is encountered among the Sibyls, whose powerful figures are shown at rest, reading or reaching out for a book or **168** unrolling a scroll. Only *The Delphic Sibyl* gazes up in a moment of wide-eyed inspiration, and her heroic frame, enclosed by the circular sweep of her mantle, is vitalised by contrasting movements. As she swings her left arm across in a sharp angle, her right arm comes to rest heavily upon her lap. Prophets and Sibyls are incar-



168. MICHELANGELO. *The Delphic Sibyl.* Rome, Sistine Chapel (photo: Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale).

nations of a superhuman state, intermediaries between God and Man. They are grandly individualised in expression, movement and gesture and linked in powerful corresponding rhythms to form the human architecture of the ceiling, a decorative whole of unsurpassable profundity and strength, within the tectonic frame of the vast composition.

Pope Julius had died in 1513 and Michelangelo took service with the Medici in Florence, without abandoning the work at the Tomb. In 1516 he completed the gigantic *Moses,* who has the same dynamic force and *terribilità* as the Jehovah of the Sistine Ceiling. But it is the Medici Popes Leo X and Clement VII who desired Michel-



169. MICHELANGELO. *Last Judgment*: detail. Rome, Sistine Chapel (photo: Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale).

angelo to abandon work on the Tomb for their own Funerary Chapel in the Florentine church of San Lorenzo. This chapel with the seated statues of Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici and the human symbols of *Day* and *Night, Dawn* and *Evening* at their feet, occupied Michelangelo until 1534. Then the new Pope Paul III Farnese, commissioned the *Last Judgment* for the great wall behind the altar of the Sistine Chapel, measuring 48 feet by 44, the largest fresco in Rome, which was to occupy Michelangelo for seven years (1534–1541). With it a new style of mural painting was introduced into Italy. It engendered sixteenth century mannerism and the subsequent Baroque, bursting all known confines of picture making by its mountains of nude bodies in violent movement.

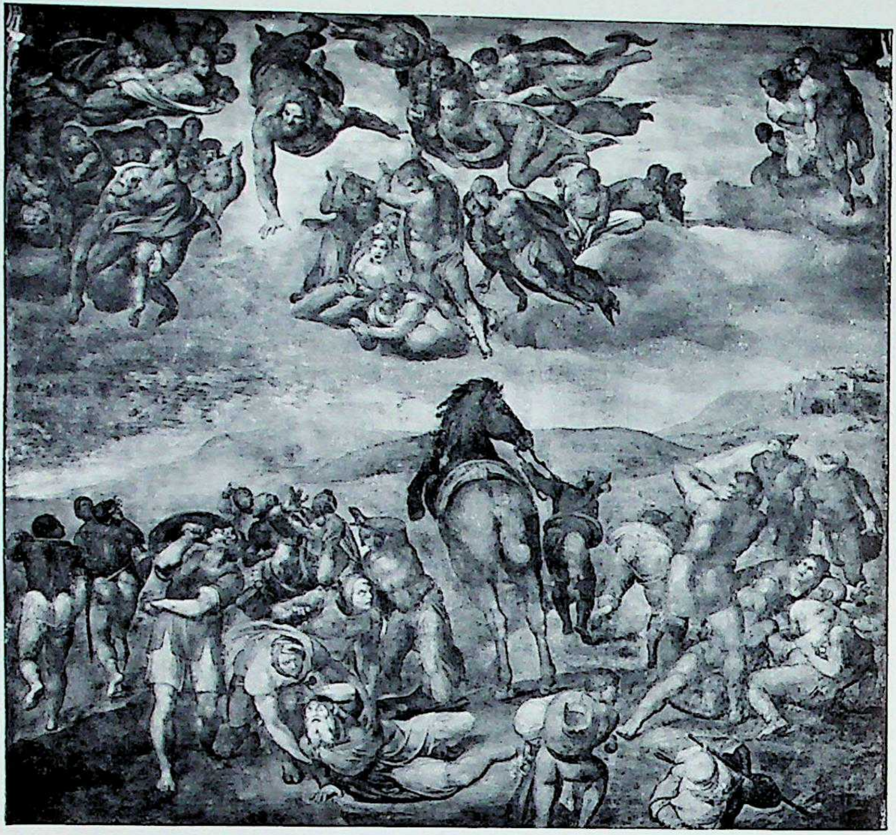
Michelangelo had been deeply affected by the Sack of Rome by the Imperial troops in 1527, and by the lawlessness and corruption of the Eternal City. He was profoundly religious, a friend of Vittoria Colonna, of Cardinal Pole and other members of the Oratorio del Divino Amore, who worked for a reform of the Catholic Church. The *Last Judgment* is his nightmare vision of the punishment by 169 which mankind is threatened for their sins. Christ now appears not as the loving teacher of man who atones on the Cross, but as the Giant Judge, His right arm raised in condemnation of fallen humanity. This Christ has grown to colossal proportions, a square and un-Grecian shape with thickened limbs and the heavy tread of an avenging God. In the hollow of His flanks shelters the Virgin Mary, writhing in a sinuous movement, like a figure by El Greco or Tintoretto.

The huge mural is divided into four parts. In the upper zone, beneath the two arches, Angels bring the instruments of the Passion, the Cross and the Pillar, in a tempestuous downward swoop. In the second zone, at each side of Christ, are the Patriarchs and Apostles, nude athletes, crowding in upon the centre. Beneath Christ-Jupiter, upon an island of clouds, the Judgment Angels blow their trumpets, and the third zone is filled with the Saved, aided by angels in their Resurrection (left) and the Condemned, nude colossi in the clutches of demons (right). In the lowest sphere is Charon in his barque, and Minos the Prince of Hell, snake entwined, committing the sinners to the eternal fire.

Dante's description of the Inferno has found in Michelangelo's work its terrible visualisation in a holocaust of nude figures, three zones of surging humanity in a primordial chaos of cloud and fire. The three upper zones are divided by intersecting diagonals of which Christ is the centre. Within this order the human masses writhe and move, distorted in shape, inexhaustible in gesture, and the *Giudizio Universale* transcends all laws and conventions of pictorial art.

Contemporary critics, like Pietro Aretino, objected to the excessive violence of Michelangelo's work and called it a hotbed of nudes, and the Council of Trent decreed that the nudes should be overpainted by Daniele da Volterra.

After the Sistine and the *Last Judgment* the frescoes of the Cappella Paolina, the *Conversion of Paul* and the *Crucifixion of Peter,* constitute Michelangelo's third and most anti-Classical style. Baroque and Mannerism derive from the dynamic massing of unshapely figures overbalanced on one side of the picture and from



170. MICHELANGELO. *Conversion of Paul.* Rome, Cappella Paolina (photo: Alinari).

the exploration of diagonal depth. The source of the confusion is the appearance of Christ in a glory of light swooping down from **170** Heaven, the vision and the voice which strike Paul with blindness. The flash of lightning which emanates from above, splits asunder the cohorts of the Apostle in two asymmetrical groups, and the great void between them is filled by the rearing horse. As the blessed spirits and angels float towards Christ in the heavenly sphere, so the figures below flee from the centre, and the effect of Paul's vision is conveyed by zigzagging movement of distorted bodies in contrasting directions. The architectural build-up of Classical figures in harmony and proportion has been abandoned and Michelangelo's *Conversion of Paul* heralds the Baroque.

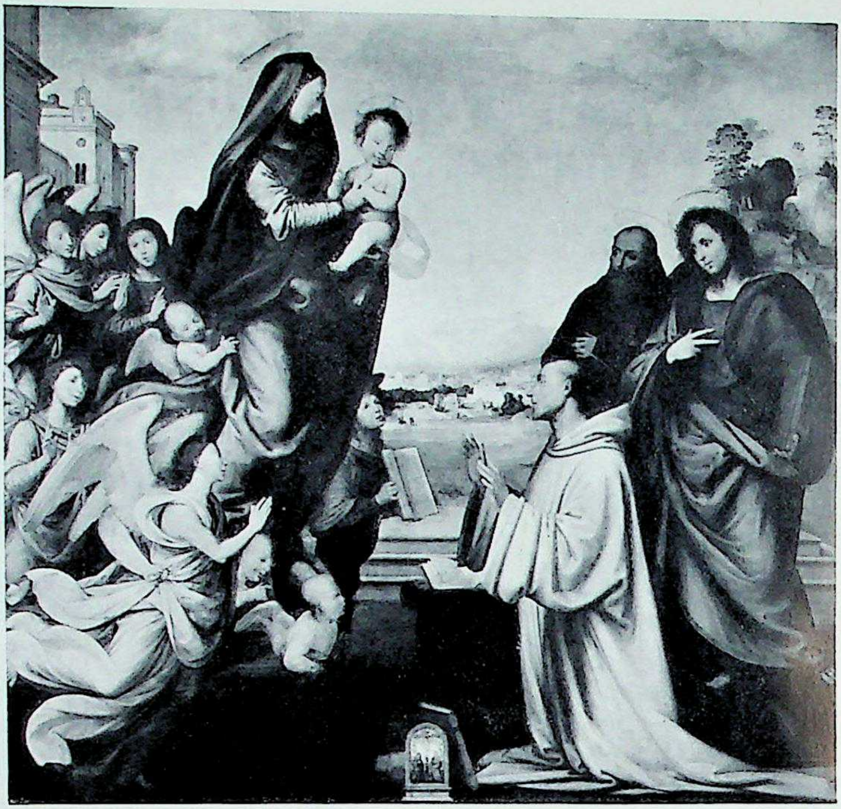
XXIV. THE GRAND MANNER.

Fra Bartolomeo and Andrea del Sarto.

FRA BARTOLOMEO continues the Grand Style of the sixteenth century. He favours heroic figure compositions of an austere but not sentimental religion, in settings of landscape or architecture. His plastic volumes and emphatic poses combine with painter-like treatment and balance of mass. ANDREA DEL SARTO'S style is also monumental, but softened by rich shading and a Venetian sense of colour. Many of his figures are distinguished by noble lassitude and elegance, a fastidious sense of beauty.

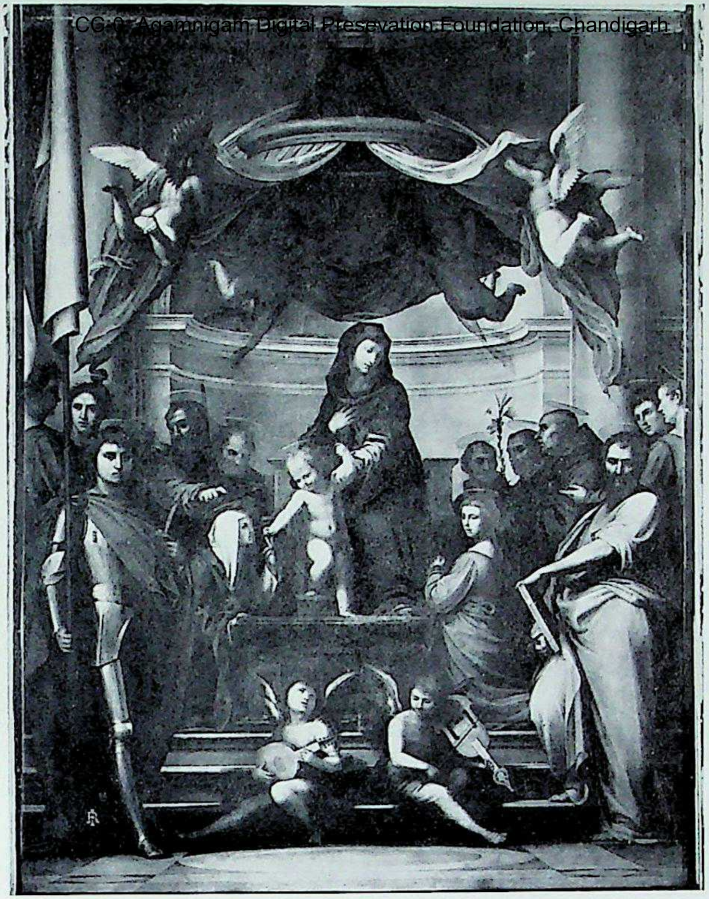
FRA BARTOLOMEO was one of the chief protagonists of the Grand Style in sixteenth century painting. A deeply religious man and a fervent follower of Savonarola, he took to heart the reformer's teaching which condemned the painting of the nude and of luxurious ornament. Fra Bartolomeo's paintings proclaim a demonstrative and somewhat austere religion. At the time of Savonarola's martyrdom he became a monk and for six years gave up painting altogether. His first work after this period was the *Madonna appearing to S. Bernard*. In contrast to Perugino's and Filippino Lippi's renderings 171 of the scene, he conceived the Madonna as a heavenly apparition, surrounded by a group of floating angels. S. Bernard kneels before her with two other saints, and the spirit is of earnest devotion, free from sentimentality; emphatic, yet restrained. The robes of the large figures flow with a new 'dignity of line' in harmony with the rhythmical movement of the two groups facing one another. The Madonna appears remote and majestic, supported by the choir of angels and received by the saint with awe and humility.

In 1512 Fra Bartolomeo painted his masterpiece, the *Marriage of S. Catherine,* now in the Pitti Palace. This type of Sacra Conver- 172 sazione—the Madonna and Child surrounded by Saints in the apse of a church under a canopy of angels—had been created in Venice by Antonello da Messina and Giovanni Bellini. In 1508 Fra Bartolomeo had visited Venice, and its influence can be felt in his Pala of S. Catherine. The saints who surround the Madonna and Child in the middle distance are diminishing in scale as they follow the curve of the rounded apse. Great planes of shadow and light enhance the illusion of depth and spaciousness, in which the figures act boldly and with great freedom of movement. The brightest light falls upon the Child Jesus, and the radiance of this group is balanced



171. FRA BARTOLOMEO. *Madonna appearing to S. Bernard.* Florence, Academy (photo: Soprintendenza alle Gallerie di Firenze).

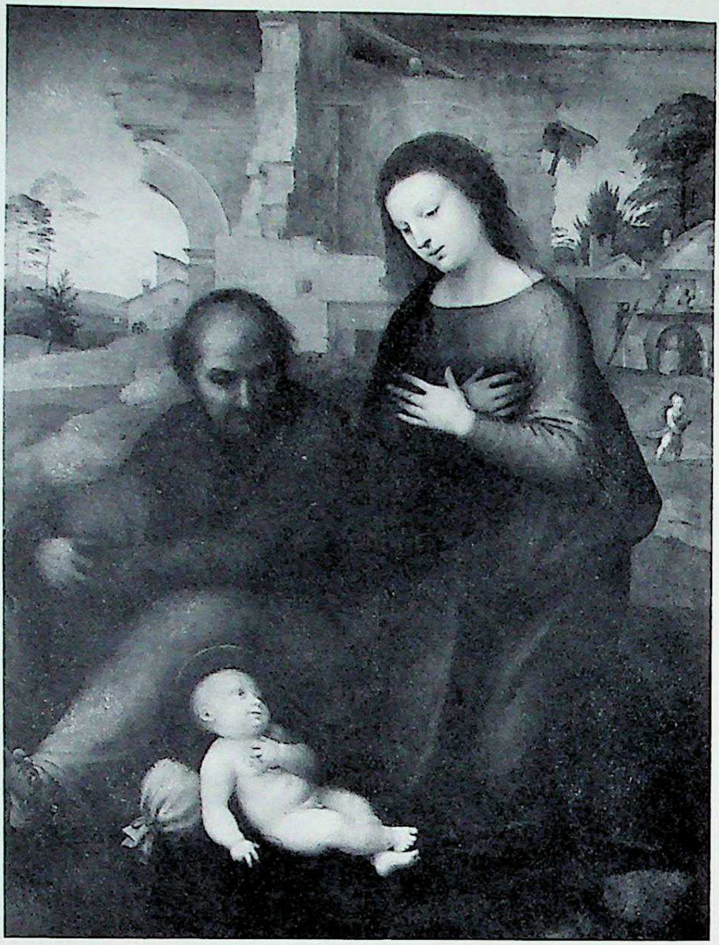
by the light upon the opposite wall. The exuberant cherubs holding up the curtain of the canopy will be met again in Lorenzo Lotto. They lend animation to the stern symmetrical picture which is framed by two powerful saints—S. George holding a banner not unlike Giorgione's S. Liberale at Castelfranco, and S. Bartholomew who has Michelangelo's strength and contrapposto: as he swings his bare arm across his body to hold the book, his head is turned in the opposite direction. He stands rocklike upon the ground, and his heroic form proclaims the might and power of Renaissance man. The two musician angels at the foot of the stairs, one singing as he plucks the strings of his lute, the other listening to see whether his viol is in tune with his companion, relieve the solemnity of the picture. With it Fra Bartolomeo created the Florentine prototype of the Renaissance altarpiece, where grandeur of figures and balanced mass



172. FRA BARTOLOMEO. *Marriage of S. Catherine.* Florence, Pitti Palace (photo: Anderson).

and space are moulded into a triumphant expression of religious feeling.

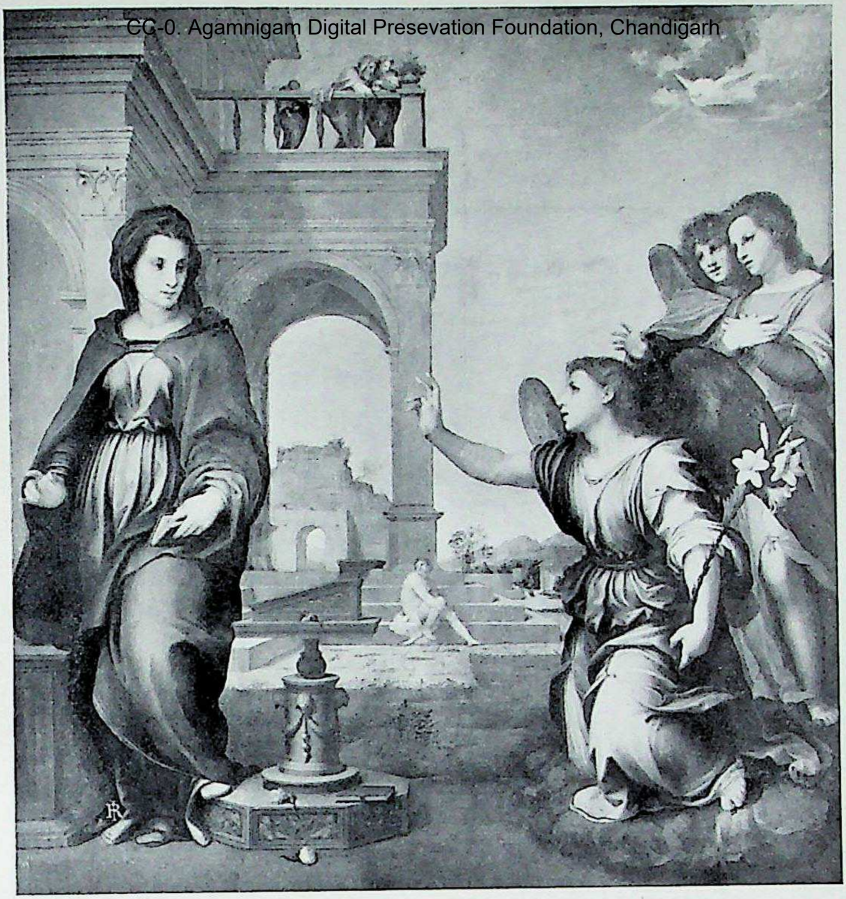
But even when he composes on a smaller scale as in the *Holy Family* at the National Gallery, Fra Bartolomeo builds up a human 173 group of sculptural unity, in perfect interrelation with the great architectural background. The Madonna kneeling before the Child is sweet and maternal and less sentimental than some of Raphael's Madonnas. S. Joseph, sitting wistfully on the ground, has credible weight and power, his face softly modelled in chiaroscuro. The heavy folds of the Virgin's blue mantle have the same structural firmness as the figures, and the solidity and compactness of the group



173. FRA BARTOLOMEO. *Holy Family*. London, National Gallery (photo: National Gallery).

are foiled but not dwarfed by the colossal ruins in the middle distance. The sculptural effect is obtained by a painter's methods: the rich volumes and warm tonality of the figures which melt into the surrounding atmosphere.

The architectural and plastic values of the picture, weighty though they are, are relieved by a landscape of great delicacy and luminous beauty. The airy distance between the Holy Family and the ruined palace is strongly felt, and the dainty filigree of the trees, seen against the brilliant sky and the rolling hills, restore the balance. Thus the London *Holy Family* epitomizes Fra Bartolomeo's art: the organisation of volumes in the space, combined with a painterly handling of glowing colour and a modelling in chiaroscuro, worthy



174. ANDREA DEL SARTO. *The Annunciation.* Florence, Pitti Palace (photo: Anderson).

of Leonardo, as shown in the softly shaded face of S. Joseph, contemplating the Holy Child.

ANDREA DEL SARTO's work is conditioned by a yearning after the monumental, in which he follows Michelangelo and Fra Bartolomeo, and by a Venetian sensibility of colour. A fastidious sense of beauty and elegance distinguish the work of Andrea, together with a sense of robustness and grandeur, veiled and softened by Leonardo's sfumato and ennobled by rhythmical movement. In his youth he painted frescoes in the Annunziata, representing the *Birth of the Virgin* and later the *Life of the Baptist* in the cloister of the Barefooted Friars. His *Last Supper* in S. Salvi (1519) vies with Leonardo.

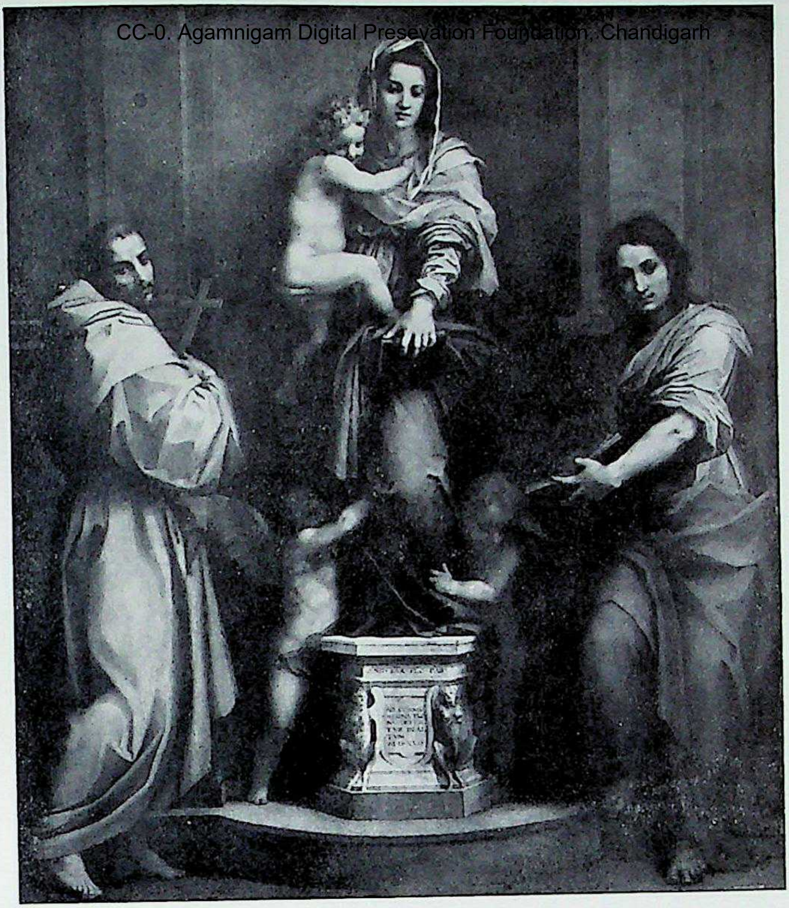
An early work of Andrea, *The Annunciation* in the Palazzo Pitti, 174 displays his refined sense of beauty in the Classical poise of the

Madonna and the noble rapture of the Annunciation Angel and his companions. Dignity and restrained emotion are the hallmark of Classical figures, and Sarto's Virgin Annunciate in the lassitude of her contrapposto, the gentle turn of her face is of exquisite loveliness. Surprise and humility mingle before the impact of S. Gabriel's message. In his ardent stance, the salutation of his gaze and gesture, the turn of the wrist which holds the lily, his bare arm raised in blessing, is something of Michelangelo's power; but in the dreamlike countenance of the other angel with the dark hair and shaded eyes is an almost Venetian ideal of beauty. The protagonists stand out grandly before the luminous sky, and the delicate landscape and Classical arch on whose steps a nude youth is reclining.

Andrea endowed with a sense of tonal gradations and effects of colour, combined something of Michelangelo's muscular strength with Leonardo's sfumato rendering. The modelling of his heads and figures is due to the envelope of shade which throws into relief the lighted passages and gives illusion of volume and movement in the three dimensional space. It is a painterly style which aims at monumental effects by veiling and softening the surface planes and eschewing all linear harshness.

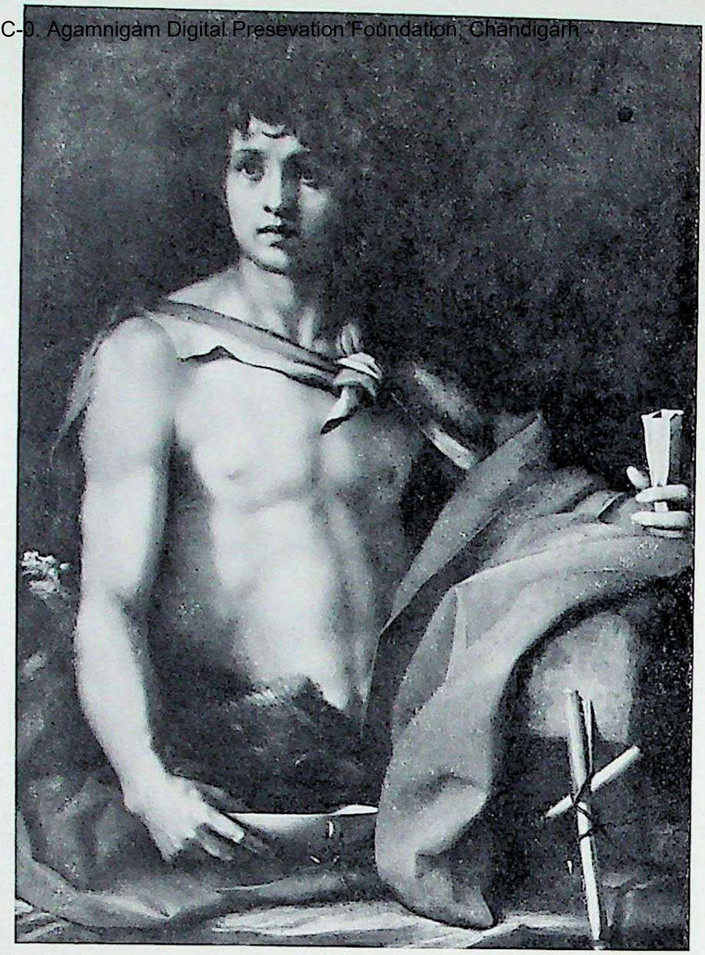
The *Madonna and Child with S. John the Baptist* in the Galleria Borghese has something of Raphael's charm; yet the eyes of the Mother are darkly shaded cavities, as are S. John's wildly smiling eyes, contrasted by the light upon forehead and cheeks. Andrea's modelling is based upon this surround of shade, giving relief to the radiant vitality of the bodies. The colour harmony is restrained, tones of dull blue and pale purple, and the lively group stands out from the dark woodland background.

Then in 1517 Andrea painted his mature masterpiece, the
175 *Madonna delle Arpie,* vying with Fra Bartolomeo in the monumental style. The Madonna is placed upon a pedestal and dominates the accompanying Saints Francis and John the Evangelist. As she holds the Child lightly upon her arms and a book against her thigh, hers is a magnificent pose, remote and regal and free from all genre accessories. Two winged cherubs embrace the Madonna's knees and the curly haired Child is as lovely as a Correggio. The whole is composed as a statuary group of three figures in Classical contrapposto, and the voluminous drapery, though it conceals the bodies, suggests a three-dimensional fullness of appearances by its changing planes of colour. For Andrea was almost Venetian in his rich painterly quality, his shaded softness of colour, which shuns contours and the linear definition of Florence.



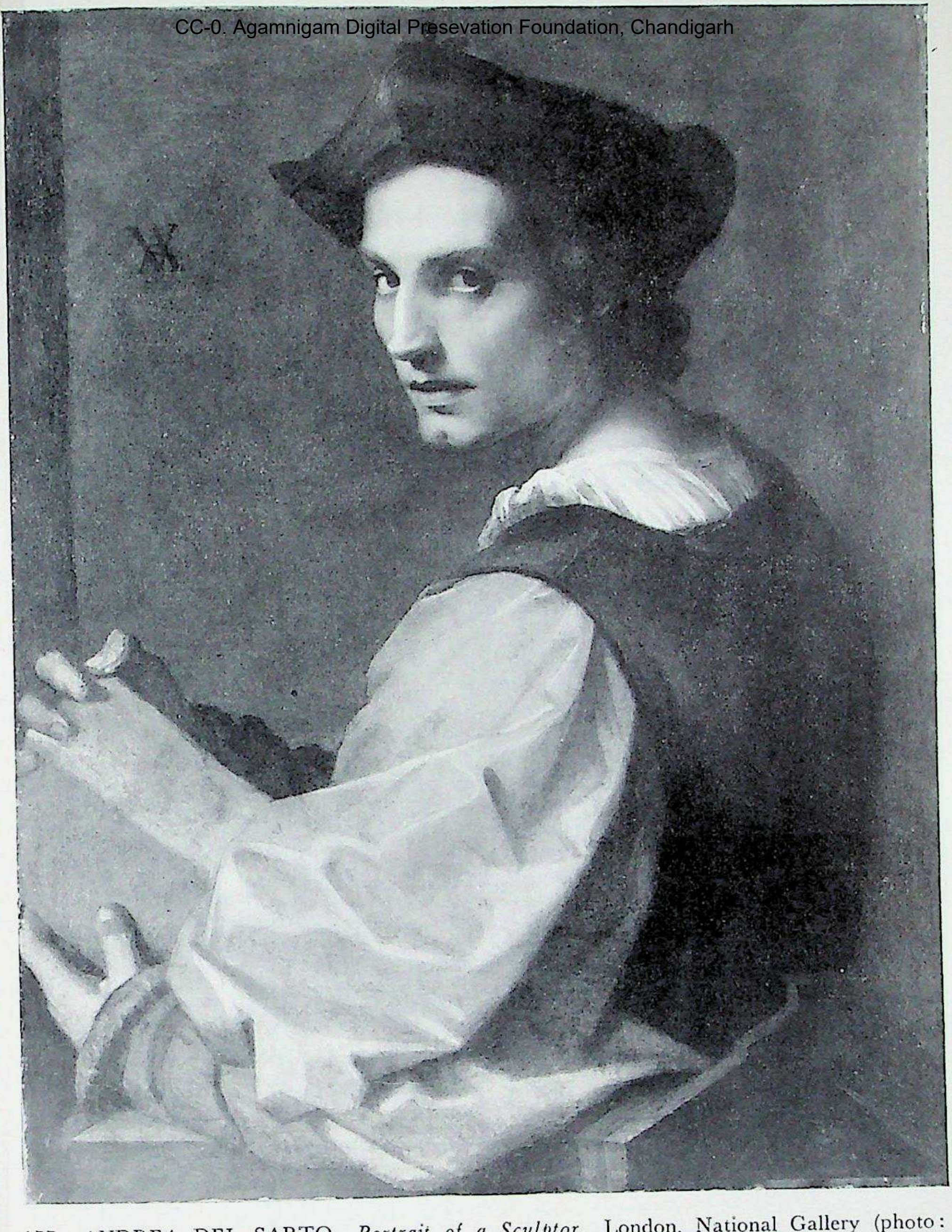
175. ANDREA DEL SARTO. *Madonna delle Arpie.* Florence, Uffizi (photo: Soprintendenza alle Gallerie di Firenze).

Perhaps the most famous of del Sarto's single figures is the youthful *S. John the Baptist* in the Pitti, a beautiful half-nude, his radiant **176** body foiled by the dark background and the crimson loincloth. Renderings of the young Baptist preaching in the wilderness have often engaged artists, from the impassioned beauty of Raphael's Roman boy to Caravaggio's alluring young woodcreature holding a lamb. Andrea del Sarto's *Baptist* is more static and monumental than these, in the soft raiment of his body, the richness of rounded limbs, caressed by shadows and emerging from the surrounding darkness in volumetrical fullness. Softly modulated with fleeting shadows, he stands boldly erect, gazing into the distance and clasping a bowl with a sharply articulated twist of his hand.



176. ANDREA DEL SARTO. *S. John the Baptist.* Florence, Pitti Palace (photo: Soprintendenza alle Gallerie di Firenze).

By the softness of his chiaroscuro, the volume of his bodies, the amplitude of his robes, the refined spirituality and rhythmical poise of his figures, Andrea was the foremost Florentine painter after Raphael. He was also a considerable portraitist, and the *Portrait of*
177 *a Sculptor* in the National Gallery reveals some of his own serious and sensitive soul. The lighted face under the three-cornered hat is turned towards the spectator. The large bust emerges from the grey green background. The sculptor clasps an octagonal block of marble, and his arm in a grey sleeve rests upon a table. This sleeve is masterly in its large, sculptured folds, and the radiant pleats of his shirt, and there is a rich Venetian feeling for painterly texture and



177. ANDREA DEL SARTO. *Portrait of a Sculptor.* London, National Gallery (photo: National Gallery).

a sculptor's sense of form. But more than the poise and presence of the figure, the felicitous contours and soft lights, it is the haunting expression of the face which attracts, the quivering lips, the searching eye, which one observer has called tragic.

Portraits such as this are found in sixteenth century Venice, and Andrea's *Sculptor* with the delicate contours of the face, the structural form of nosebridge and cheekbone and the modelling in Leonardo's sfumato, is a work of great distinction; not the least in the sculptured breadth of the grey sleeve and the material density of chairback and ledge, where the portrait is anchored in the three-dimensional space.

XXV. MANNERISM—THE BEGINNING OF AN ANTI-CLASSICAL MOVEMENT.

Pontormo — Rosso — Bronzino — Parmigianino, etc.

The experimental style known as Mannerism started in Florence as a reactionary movement of some artists who were young around 1520 and found themselves thwarted by the great example of the Classical masters. PONTORMO, ROSSO, BRONZINO and others were ardent intellectuals eager to start a modern movement in art which was often bizarre and 'surrealist,' always imaginative and anti-Classical. Some like PARMIGIANINO affected elongated and serpentine forms to which they bent a graceful and elegant human ideal. Some painted sophisticated literary conceits and gave a distorted view of Michelangelo's monumentality. Mannerism spread to other lands and in France begot the School of Fontainebleau.

With the death of Raphael in 1520 the untroubled summer of the Italian Renaissance had passed. The Classical equilibrium, the reincarnation of the Hellenic ideal which lay in Raphael's genius had become unattainable, and the young artists in the second decade of the sixteenth century fought shy of it. Besides Raphael there was Michelangelo; the Michelangelo of the Sistine, and his heroic world of passion and of torment was equally intimidating for the young. An Italian scholar spoke of the 'golden prison of Classicism' from which the experimental artists of the period were wont to escape. Moreover, time itself was against them. Italy was convulsed with foreign invasions, Church and Papacy threatened by northern revolt resulting in spiritual and moral uncertainties and upheaval. This was the situation into which were born the young Tuscan artists who created the new Mannerist movement : Pontormo and Rosso, Bronzino and

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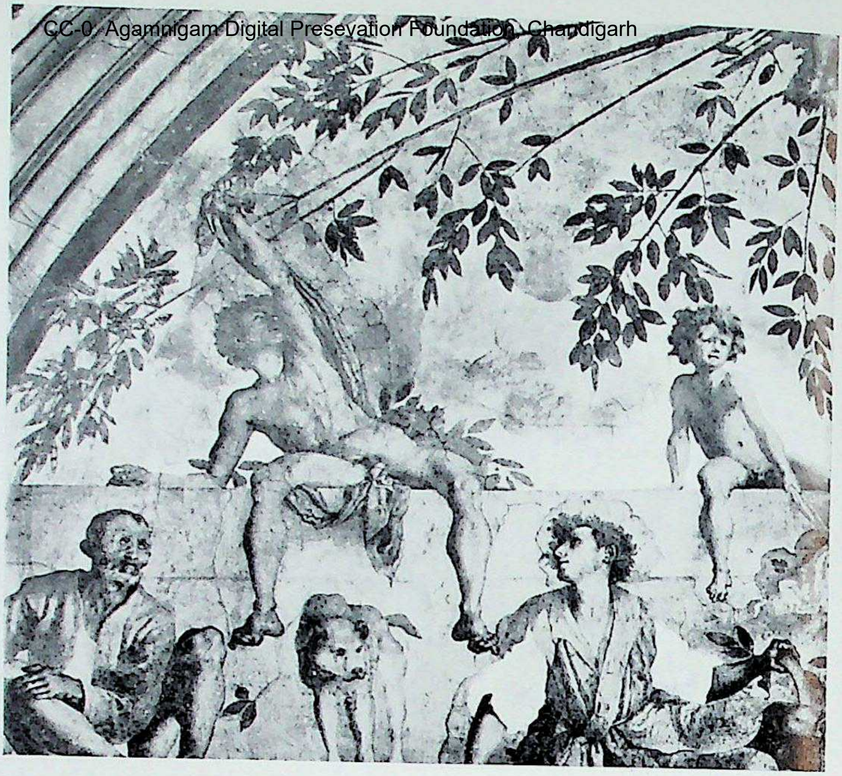
Beccafumi. For them the art of Raphael and Michelangelo signified the summit and the end of the Renaissance, and in search after new forms of expression it was only natural that they should adopt an anti-Classical attitude.

Though not of the front rank, they were gifted artists, especially in the field of imaginative design and formal experiment. They had common bonds and a common purpose. Pontormo and Rosso derived from Andrea del Sarto, and their spiritual excitement, their impassioned search for a new style produced works which, though often fantastic, and even distortionist, were not entirely outside the Classical schemes of composition. If he was tormented, it was not Michelangelo's tragic but Dürer's troubled and expressionist form, which influenced PONTORMO. In Vasari's biography he is described as an eccentric, an introspective, a solitary, obsessed with his vision. In his work the substance and proportion of human figures, their harmonious balance and spatial relationship were disregarded in favour of new formal and decorative solutions.

His *Joseph in Egypt,* an early work, is a fantastic stage-like invention, de-centralised and non-representational, with groups of large and small figures in the same field of vision, swiftly moving and gaily coloured, in a setting of cardboard architecture. Pharoah in a golden mantle welcomes Joseph amidst kneeling supplicants. A winding staircase with hurrying figures leads to an open temple where Jacob lies dying. The street is filled with beggars, monks, cherubs, and at the foot of the steps two spirited lads converse. One of them in a loose mantle and artist's beret, with long hair, looking up to his companion, is Pontormo's pupil Bronzino. Slender nudes and a lively cupid on pillars and pedestals enliven the irrational scene.

Pontormo was at his poetical best when he could paint fancy subjects without narrative contents, like *The Seasons* in Poggio a 178 Cajano. Here he decorated a lunette in the Villa Reale with the airy dreams of a pastoral; picnicking peasants and a dog, ladies in pretty costumes and nude boys climbing a wall to pluck laurel twigs. In order to fill the given space with the great central window, he created a screen of spreading foliage and slender branches and beneath it an evocative scene of rustic divinities in a sylvan setting, exuberant in spirit and flexible in form, a subtle equilibrium. Two female figures reclining in ample clothes turn away from each other. Nude children sitting astride walls pull garlands. A leafy pattern is silhouetted against the sky. It is an Arcadian dream like Watteau's, a lyrical evocation of spring, where rustic figures and youthful nudes



178. PONTORMO. *The Seasons*: left half. Poggio a Cajano, Villa Reale (photo: Soprintendenza alle Gallerie di Firenze).

desport themselves in the interval of space in rhythmical movements, resilient and weightless.

In their search after new expressive modes in order to free themselves from the Grand Manner of the Renaissance, Pontormo and Rosso Fiorentino found in Dürer's Passion cycle the anti-Classical forms which suited their purpose. The lengthening of the human figure, the linear sharpness, the tortured expressionism of northern art held out a new promise. By 1525 Pontormo had absorbed Dürer's style and in the same year he painted his own most personal religious pictures, the *Supper at Emmaus* and the *Deposition of Christ* for
179 Santa Felicità. *Supper at Emmaus* derives from a wood-engraving by Dürer, which accounts for its expressive linearism, the northern twists and angularity of its lengthened and closely arrayed figures, the pietistic inwardness of the Christ and the nervous contours in the profile perdu of the Apostles seated at the near side of the table. Two Carthusian monks fill the empty spaces by the side of Christ,

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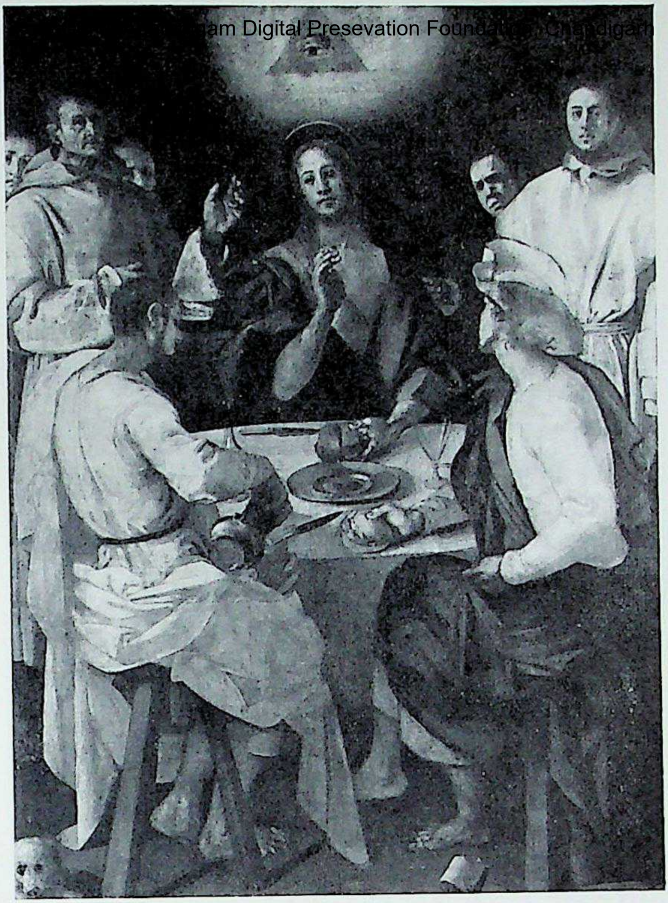
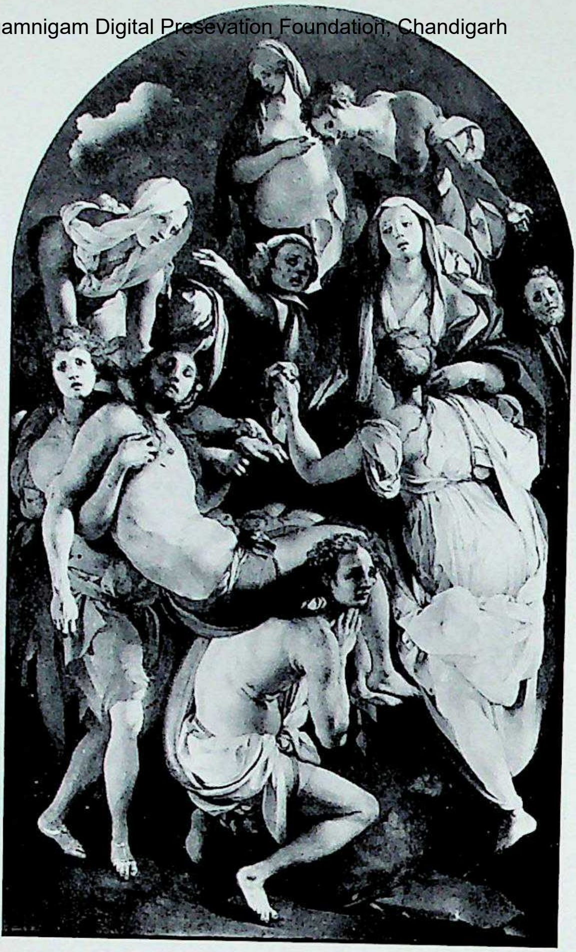


179. PONTORMO. *Supper at Emmaus.* Florence, Uffizi (photo: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam).

and above, in an aura of light appears the Eye of God, a characteristic element of abstract symbolism.

In the *Deposition of Christ* in S. Felicità, Florence, the lowering **180** of Christ from the Cross becomes an arabesque of nude and lengthened bodies interlaced with others in diaphanous robes, performing a kind of ritual movement. This interplay of limbs, those curves of smooth and tenuous bodies with eyes wide open and ecstatic, this cluster of figures in rhythmical movement built up in tiers, this harmony of rose and blue and turquoise is a strangely compelling formal invention. Pontormo no longer aims at the logical sequence of figures in the three-dimensional space. He is not



180. PONTORMO. *Deposition of Christ*. Florence, S. Felicità (photo: Soprintendenza alle Gallerie di Firenze).

concerned with reality or verisimilitude, but with new formal solutions, a tangle of curves, a compact arrangement of smooth and elongated bodies with wide open eyes and flowing hair, an expression of emotional states. The artist's vision is set down with a supreme disregard of probability or of Classical order and works its spell by new harmonies of colour, new accents of light and a new compositional freedom, bending pliable human shapes to the rhythm of his abstract designs.

It is perhaps surprising that an artist so averse to reality could be a portraitist in his own right. But Pontormo approached his sitters not as a realist, but as an artist bent on extracting the greatest definition of character by formal means such as pose and costume,

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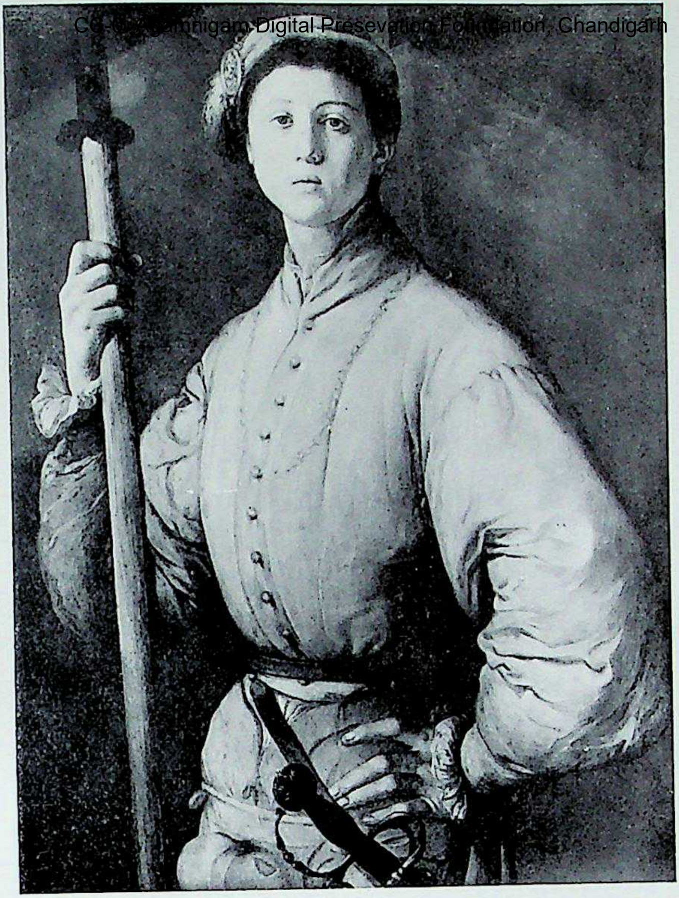
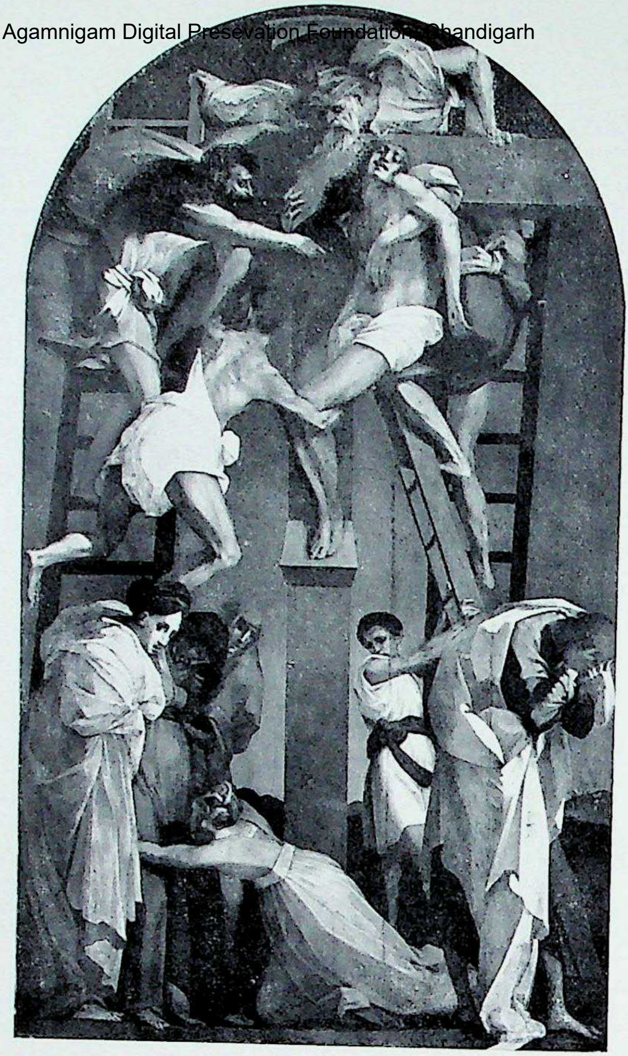


181. PONTORMO. *Halberdier*. Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Museum of Art, Chauncey D. Stillman loan (photo: Fogg Art Museum).

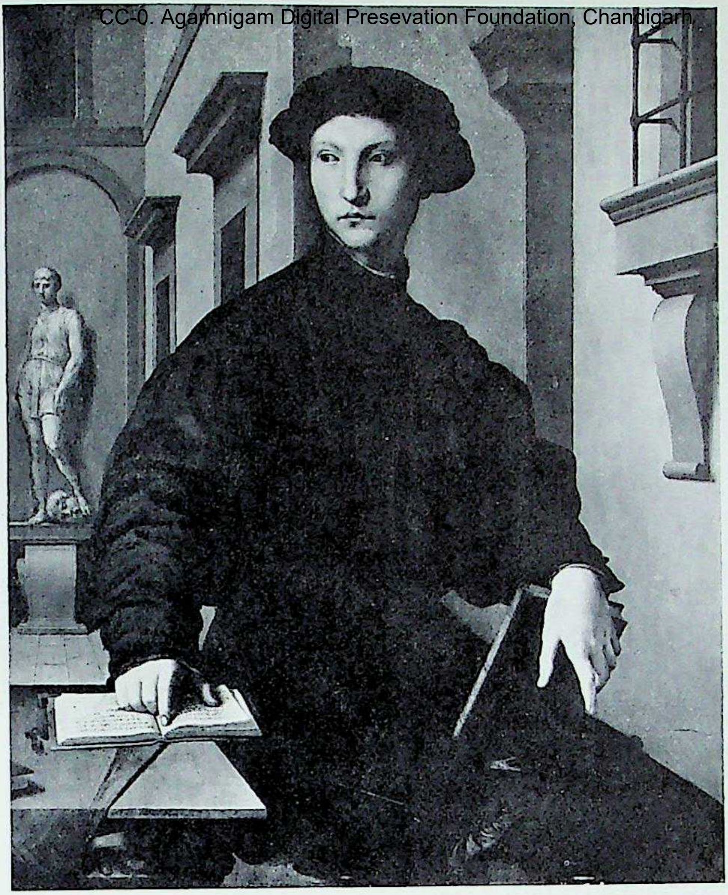
incisive contours, strong light and rarefied colour. His young *Halberdier* rises up steeply before us, and his shapely body with the small head is marked by an aggressive pride and nervous tension. The colour harmony is of yellow and red, and the character of the youth is in his poise as much as in his dress. It is an exquisite stylisation of form, at once bold, resilient, dreamy and elegant. Even in his portraits Pontormo transforms reality by means of selective design and purity of form, and his smooth faced young men with their haunted eyes bear something of his own restless spirit. 181

Mannerism has many facets. Reacting against Classical serenity and order, it insists on compositions which are dynamic and have no



182. ROSSO FIORENTINO. *Deposition of Christ.* Volterra, Pinacoteca (photo: Soprintendenza alle Gallerie di Firenze).

182 centre. In the *Deposition* by ROSSO FIORENTINO (1494–1541) a northern expressionism of mien and gesture breaks up the last vestiges of Raphaelesque grace by the structural force of linear design. Rosso has rendered the group of mourners under the Cross by silhouetting lofty vertical figures in circumscribed planes of light and strident colour upon an abstract sky of golden intensity. The three Maries have something of the Gothic austerity of mediaeval wood carving, and the Magdalena in flaming red, prostrate at the foot of the Madonna, a new dynamic of colour and geometrical



183. BRONZINO. *Ugolino Martelli.* Berlin, Staats Galerie (photo: Walter Steinkopf).

form. Her body forms a link with the weeping S. John, a figure of more than human size, a stereometrical design of expressive force. Despair and anguish under the Cross are contrasted by the agitated figures above, and here the interlacing of limbs, the curves of straining bodies, the grimaces and exertions convey the physical agony of the Deposition. A far cry from the Classical stance of Raphael's *Entombment* in the Borghese—this expressionist concept of figures and their calculated unbalance, which is countered by accents of violent movement and light.

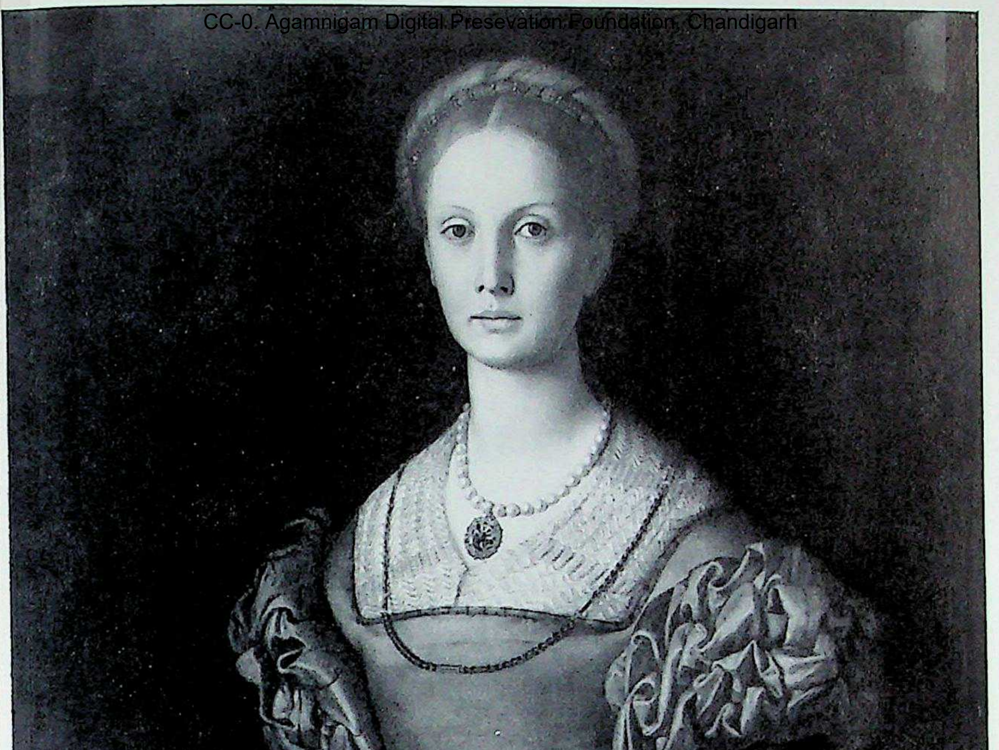
It was Rosso Fiorentino who in 1530 left Florence, following a call of King Francis I to decorate the castle of Fontainebleau. Together with the Bolognese painter Primaticcio, who came in 1532, he introduced Mannerism to the French and became the founder of the School of Fontainebleau.

ANGELO BRONZINO (1503–1572) was Pontormo's pupil and attained to fame as the impeccable portraitist of the Medicean Grand Ducal Court at Florence. In his stylish portraits of the aristocracy his 'maniera' freezes the soul into an impenetrable mask, and a static light throws into pallid relief the lengthened bodies and small heads
183 of his sitters. The portrait of *Ugolino Martelli,* the humanist and future bishop, is a picture of great distinction in the economy of its two principal colours—black and grey—the lofty shape and noble lassitude of the scholar, foiled by the verticals of the Renaissance architecture. There are some brilliant passages of paint, as in the dazzling white of the hands emerging from the dark sleeves or the blue book reflected in the black robe. Tonal refinement and rarefied colour are made to express the intellectual refinement and natural dignity of the young humanist.

Bronzino's portraits present character, as the externals of dress and ornament, with a dispassionate objectivity. The lyrical element and vibrant light, which made Pontormo's sitters intensely human, are absent from his pupil's stylish abstractions. To him a necklace, a pattern of flowered silk have the same artistic significance as a human face, the same impassive and fixed immobility. When he painted the Duchess *Eleonora of Toledo* in her resplendent costume against a deep blue background, he raised her icy presence to monumental form. Her soul lies concealed in her monumental stance.

184 More personal is the half-length of a *Girl holding a Missal.* Here the distinction of her dress is subsumed to the serious expression which speaks from her closed lips, her raised brow and sad eyes. The lofty forehead of the girl, the sculptured form of brow and nose are fashioned by planes of pearly light, which lend to her face the ivory perfection. As a portraitist Bronzino reflects appearances with the taut, metallic incisiveness of volumes and contours, giving to all parts of body and costume the same clear definition.

In middle life Bronzino changed his allegiance from Pontormo to Michelangelo, painting mythological and allegorical pictures like
185 the London *Venus, Cupid, Folly and Time,* where a learned conceit is illustrated in a pagan and hedonistic language of form. It is an allegory of the human passions, where sophistication and luxury vie in a composition of smooth and appealing or violently enraged figures. In the centre a stylish figure of Venus is embraced by an adolescent Cupid. A cherub scatters rose leaves on their path. Above, Father Time with outstretched arm draws a blue curtain.



184. BRONZINO. *Girl holding a Missal.* Florence, Uffizi (photo: Soprintendenza alle Gallerie di Firenze).

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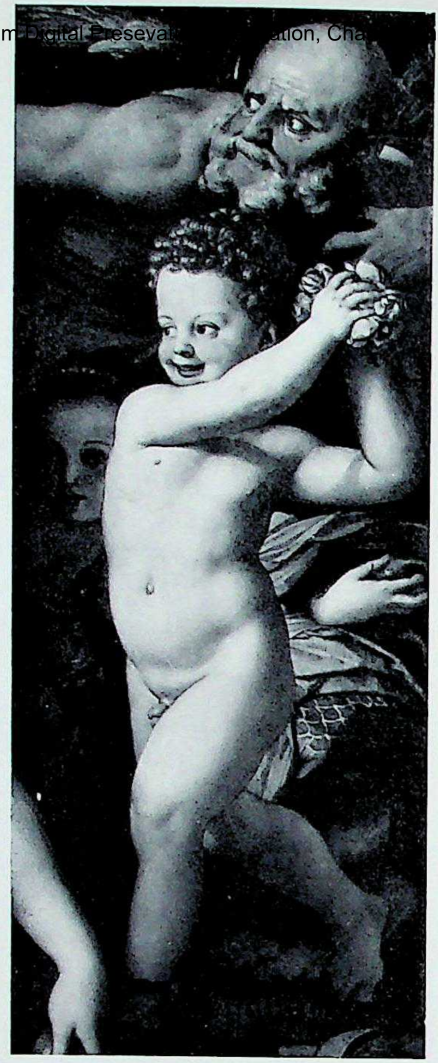
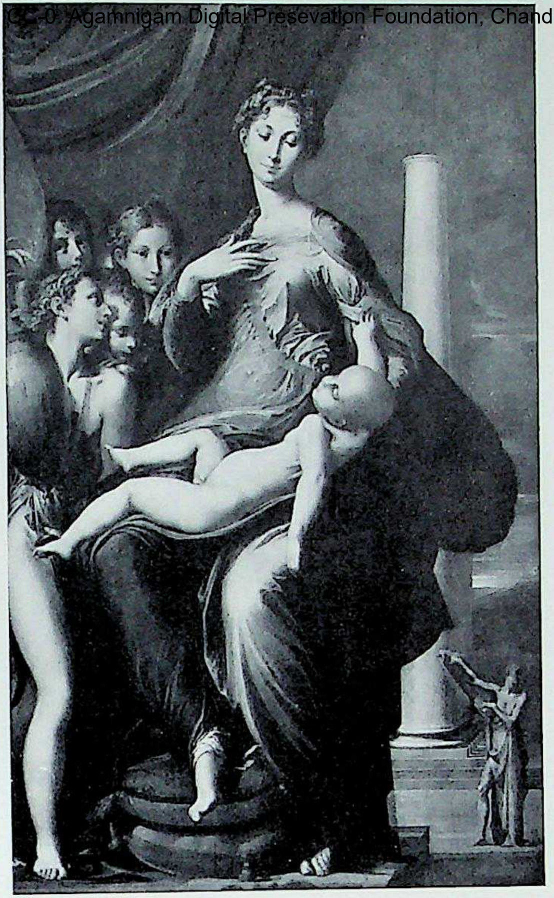


185. BRONZINO. *Venus, Cupid, Folly and Time*: detail. London, National Gallery (photo: National Gallery).

Below, Jealousy tears her hair and Folly, whose body ends in dragon's claw and tail, offers a honeycomb to Venus; in her concealed hand she holds a viper. Masks lie scattered on the ground. Allegorical figures fill the whole canvas with supple movement, drawn in metallic relief and bright colour. It is a picture of agitated and writhing figures, a two-dimensional pattern without recession, an enticing and sinister allegory of the senses.

Mannerism was not confined to the initial band of Tuscan artists. As a movement of self-defence against the overpowering inheritance



186. PARMIGIANINO. *Madonna col collo lungo.* Florence, Uffizi (photo: Soprintendenza alle Gallerie di Firenze).

from the great Classical masters, it was not bound to one place, but affected other schools and other cities. It even spread abroad to France, Germany, the Netherlands and to Spain. At Parma, a pupil of Correggio, PARMIGIANINO (1503–1540), who had met Rosso in Rome, developed one of the most characteristic expressions of Mannerism, the 'forma serpentinata' or gracefully undulating form in which he modelled his elegant and rather worldly Madonnas and angels.

Parmigianino took part in the mural decorations of San Giovanni Evangelista where Correggio painted the ceiling, and later went to Rome where he fashioned his style after Raphael and Michelangelo. In his works Mannerism assumed that formal elegance and sophistication which resulted in those long necks and small heads of his

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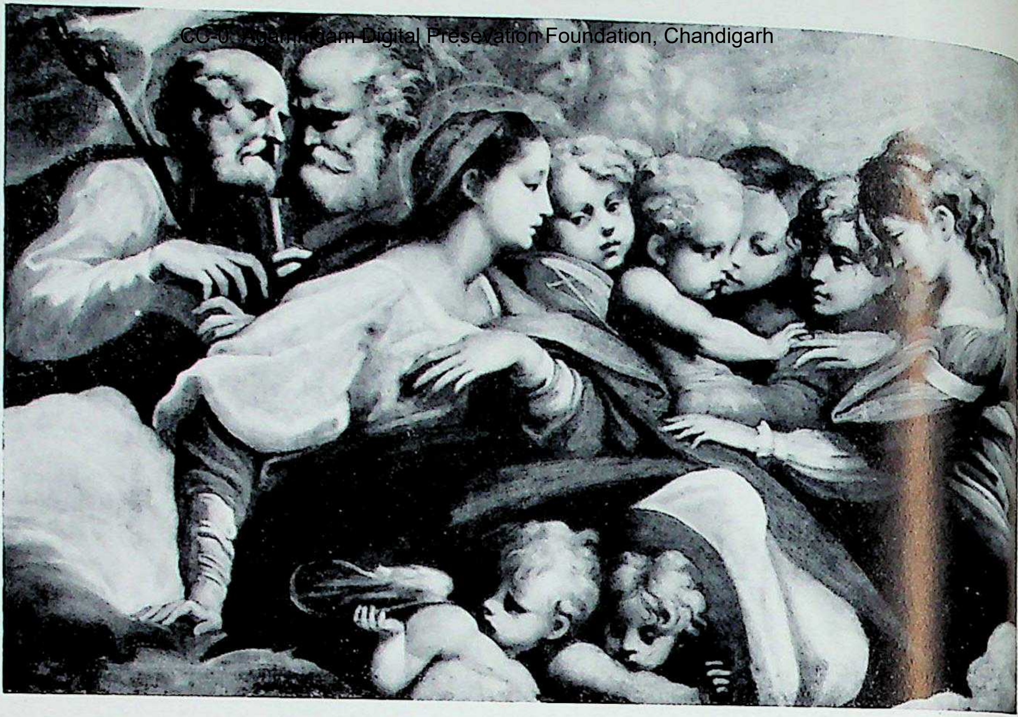
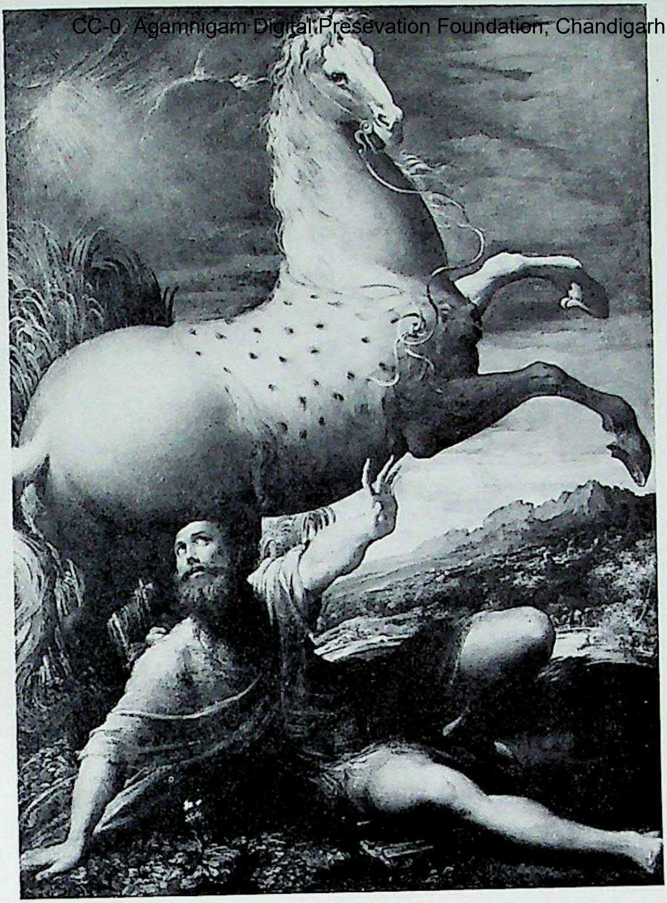


187. PARMIGIANINO. *The Mystic Marriage of S. Catherine.* Parma, Museum (photo: Variati).

Madonnas and in their affected poses. In one of them, the *Vision of S. Jerome* in the National Gallery, the Virgin, a lofty superhuman form, is enthroned upon clouds and the beautiful Child stands between her knees, like the Christ in Michelangelo's Madonna at Bruges. S. Jerome kneels in the foreground, facing the spectator, but his body is swung around in a twisting movement, and his hand points upwards like Leonardo's S. John.

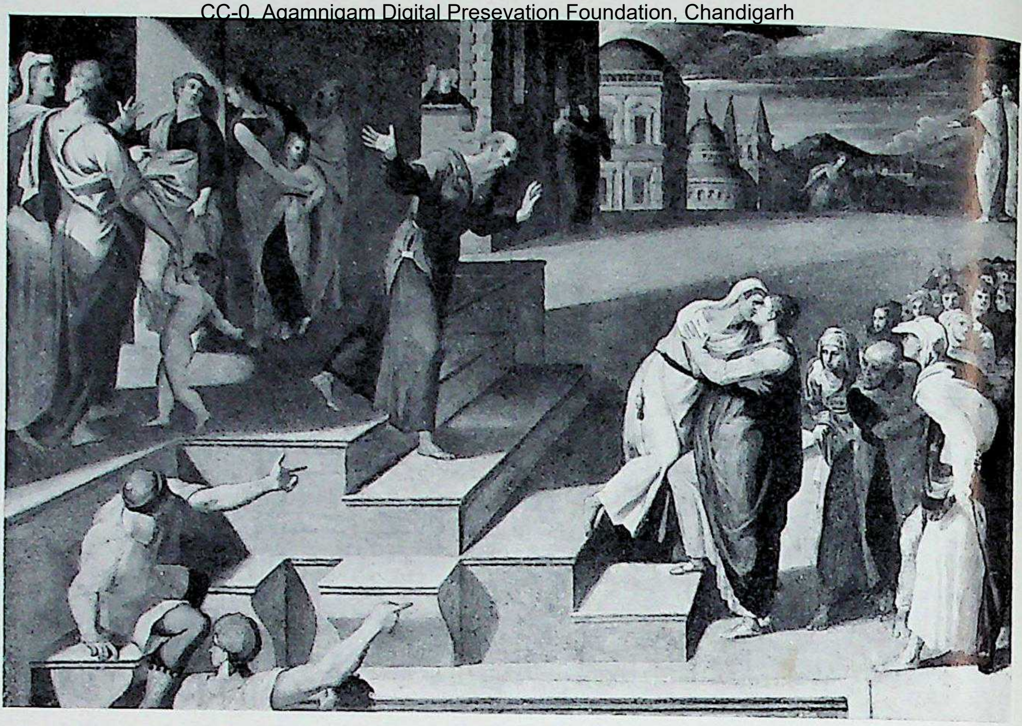
186 His Mannerist masterpiece is the *Madonna del collo lungo* in the Uffizi. Stylisation in art could not surpass the haughty grandeur of the Madonna who, robed like a Queen in turquoise and silvery grey, constrains the sinuous curve of her body into the lofty vertical of her aristocratic stance. The formal perfection and preciousness of her movement, the affectation of gesture and the icy restraint of her lowered glance upon the rather waxen Child on her lap are such, that even the angels by her side cannot suppress curiosity and wonder. One of them, holding an urn, is more like one of the antique genii than a messenger of Heaven. The elongated verticality of the group is strengthened by the grey column, and the pearly flesh tones and opalescent colours are foiled by the vinous red of the



188. NICCOLO DELL'ABBATE. *Conversion of Paul.* Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (photo: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).

curtain. The twisting movement of the Madonna, her long neck and small head seem to derive from Michelangelo's statues in the Medici Tombs. The descending line of her shoulder, flowing into the great loop of her sleeve, broadens her shape and makes her slender head appear like a crest upon the waves.

As an artist Parmigianino appears intellectual rather than naïve. His is an abstract linearism of form with an emphasis on elegant contour, on tapering fingers and intricately draped bodies. The *Marriage of S. Catherine* in the Parma Museum is painted in rarefied tones of pale silvery grey, a great fluency of impasto as of movement. The profile figures and curly haired cherubs are arranged in one plane, in close proximity. Parmigianino was capable of great 187



189. PELLEGRINO TIBALDI. *Visitation.* Urbino, Pinacoteca (photo: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).

loveliness, and his proud Madonnas, his dark-eyed, fair-haired angels with the Grecian profile created a new and appealing type of mundane elegance, an over-all pattern of sweet flowing harmony.

Parmigianino influenced another Mannerist painter from neighbouring Modena, NICCOLO DELL'ABBATE who in 1552 went to reinforce the colony of Italian painters in Fontainebleau. He was also affected by the fanciful Dosso Dossi, court painter at Ferrara. 188 Niccolo's *Conversion of Paul,* sometimes attributed to Parmigianino, illustrates what transformation the grandeur of Michelangelo's concepts suffered in Mannerist hands. Niccolo was a landscape artist of fantastical panoramas, and into one of them he composed his *Conversion,* a fallen giant writhing in the foreground beneath a rearing speckled horse with shining crupper and small head. He lends to biblical story the fairy-tale character and acrobatic suppleness of the ballet.

Michelangelo's decorations in the Cappella Paolina became the point of departure for the last Roman phase of Mannerism. Here a number of artists of Tuscan origin were forgathered; prominent amongst them were Giorgio Vasari, Francesco Salviati and Daniele da Volterra. They painted mythological, allegorical and even philosophical subjects on a monumental scale. One of the most original of these imitators of Michelangelo was PELLEGRINO TIBALDI from Bologna. His *Visitation* takes place upon the steps of a wide 189 stage-like piazza, where figures of more than human size, obviously derived from Michelangelo, accompany the meeting of Elizabeth and Mary with dramatic gestures as in an Antique chorus. The most fruitful developments of Mannerism, however, lay with Venetian artists of genius such as Tintoretto and Jacopo Bassano, and with El Greco from Crete, who had spent some years in Venice before settling in Spain.

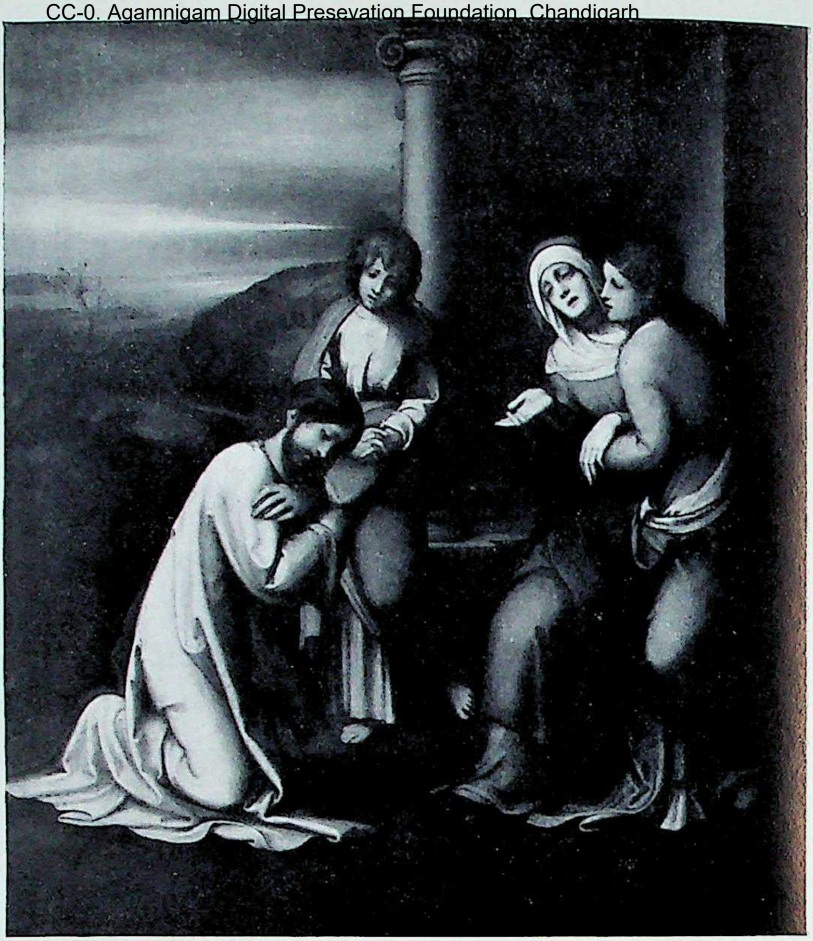
XXVI. NEW TRIUMPHS OF MOVEMENT AND CHIAROSCURO.

Antonio Allegri da Correggio.

Exuberant movement and sensuous charm are the main springs of CORREGGIO'S art. His is a painterly not a sculptural style. He employs Leonardo's sfumato and a veiled softness of surface textures. In his cupolas at Parma he anticipates the ecstasies and the plastic illusionism of the Baroque.

ANTONIO ALLEGRI (1494–1534), called CORREGGIO after his native town, presents yet another summit in Renaissance painting. If he is not of the same stature as Michelangelo, Raphael, and Leonardo, it is because he lacked their structural vigour, their Classical purity of form and universal spirit. Correggio stands for enthusiasm in art, for the joy of living and the rapturous emotions. 'He was not destined to create new types or new subjects' (Berenson), but he endowed painting with a new delicacy of colour, a new mystery of light, with feminine grace and exuberant movement. He became for Parma what Raphael had been for Florence: a painter of the Madonna and Child, not as a religious icon, but as an appealing image of human bliss.

His youth is veiled in mystery. A local master, one Bianchi Ferrari of neighbouring Modena, probably taught the boy. His early work shows affinity with Lorenzo Costa who became Mantegna's successor in nearby Mantua, and to Dosso Dossi the fanciful Ferrarese. In his first great altarpiece, the *Madonna with S. Francis,*



190. CORREGGIO. *Christ taking leave of His Mother.* London, National Gallery (photo: National Gallery).

in Dresden, he seems to combine Costa's design with Dossi's colour and light. The strangeness and poetry of his early work is strongly **190** felt in the London picture of *Christ taking leave of His Mother*. From the first, Correggio developed the gift of bringing his figures in harmony with the surrounding landscape. The slender auburn haired Christ in a silvery white robe kneels humbly before His mother, whose contorted hand and pallid face express her grief. She is supported by Magdalene, while the youthful S. John wrings his hands in compassion. The sustained emotion of the figures reverberates in the landscape, where the light dawns over the lake of Gennesaret. The turquoise colour of the Madonna's robe recurs

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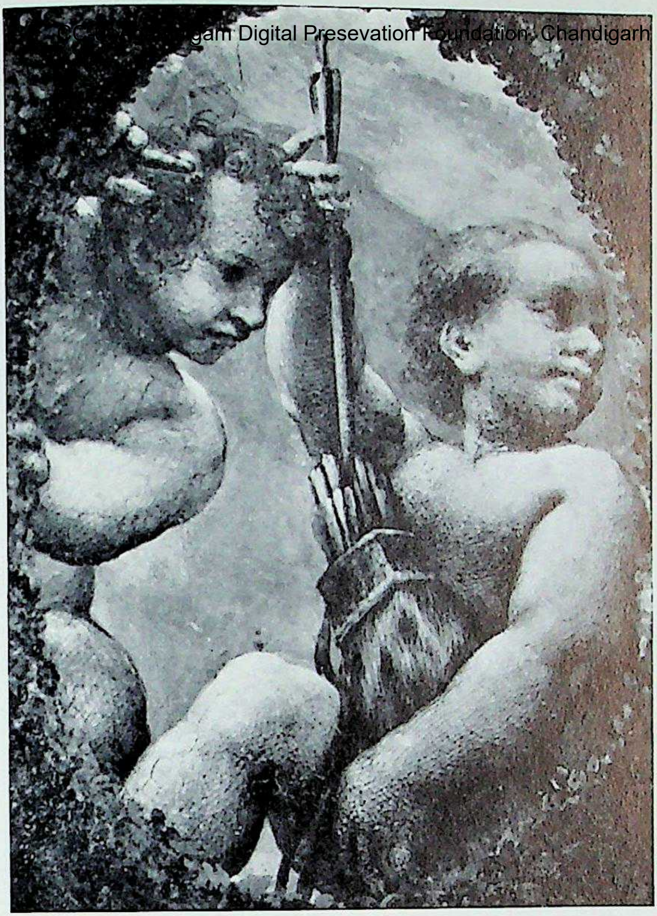
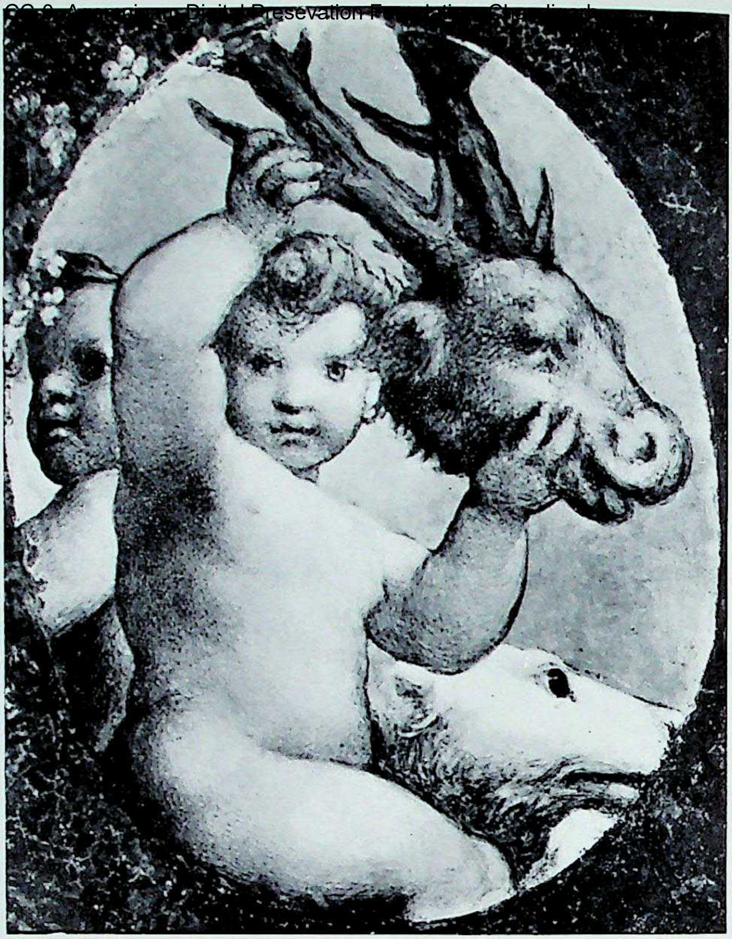


191. CORREGGIO. Putti from frescoes in the Camera di San Paolo, Parma.

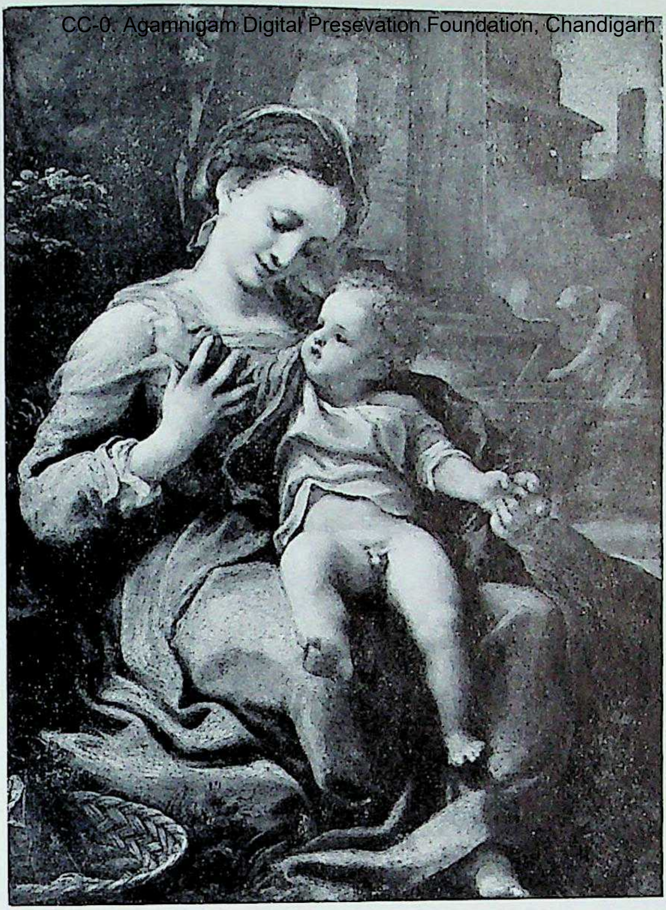
in the hillside, and clouds of purplish grey, broken by streaks of light, envelop the scene with a mysterious haze.

In 1518 Correggio received his first important commission: to decorate the private apartments of the abbess of San Paolo at Parma with frescoes representing Diana, the goddess of the chase. And here between the sixteen ribs of the vaulted ceiling the artist devised a pattern of garlands and fruit hanging down from the star-like centre, and in the widening spaces a whole world of frolicking putti in 191 wholehearted abandon to the joys of the chase. Beneath them in 192 concave lunettes Correggio fashioned Diana on her chariot and other gods and goddesses like small sculptures or cameos in grey monochrome. But it is in the oval skylights, filled with the train of



192. CORREGGIO. Putti from frescoes in the Camera di San Paolo, Parma.

nude children, gambolling with the instruments of the chase, clutching dogs or a quiver of arrows or triumphantly holding up the head of a stag, that Correggio expressed a pagan exuberance, a riot of life and a new freedom of movement. These chubby children, harnessing one another or sitting astride their favourite dogs, their hair flying in the breeze, their small sturdy limbs foreshortened, blowing the hunter's horn or feigning to stop their ears or holding up garlands to the victor, play the game of the chase with gaiety and abandon. Never before has the Renaissance rapture in sheer living, the eagerness and vitality of children found a more striking symbol.

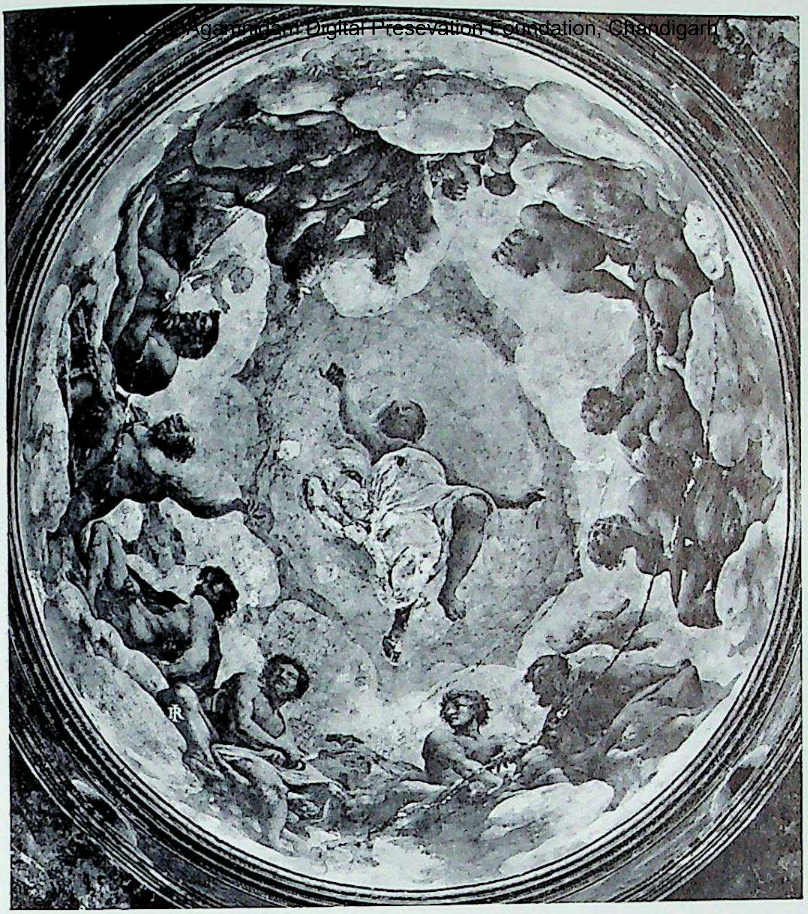


193. CORREGGIO. *Madonna with the Basket.* London, National Gallery (photo: National Gallery).

Correggio was the first modern painter who in his Holy Families and Madonnas glorified maternal delight and childish charm. The National Gallery *Madonna with the Basket* is simply a pretty young **193** mother rocking her baby who almost slips from her lap. But this small picture has a gaiety of colour and litheness of movement, a grace and sweetness which we associate with the eighteenth century. But in the handling of paint, the softness of pearly flesh, the pale blues and rose of flowing garments, Correggio shows his consummate skill. He opposes the sculptural ideal of the Florentines with a new painterly vision, the sensuous charm of fluent colour, the dazzling radiance of light. In his many representations of the Mother and Child he prefers the youthful type of Madonna, intimately human and wholly dedicated to maternal love, her eyelids lowered, her lips smiling, caressing the Child or otherwise rousing His attention.

Correggio's Madonnas are Leonardesque in expression and in the infinite suppleness of painterly texture, the soft haze which covers the perfect oval of their smiling faces. Leonardo's sfumato modulates the shaded half of the face and the neck, but also the hollow of the eye and softens the smooth transition from light to shadow. There is greater vigour in the brushwork which models the Child's white linen and the structural folds of the Virgin's dress. Curves and spirals, but no contours define the figures. By painterly means a perfect volumetric plasticity is obtained without linear harshness of definition.

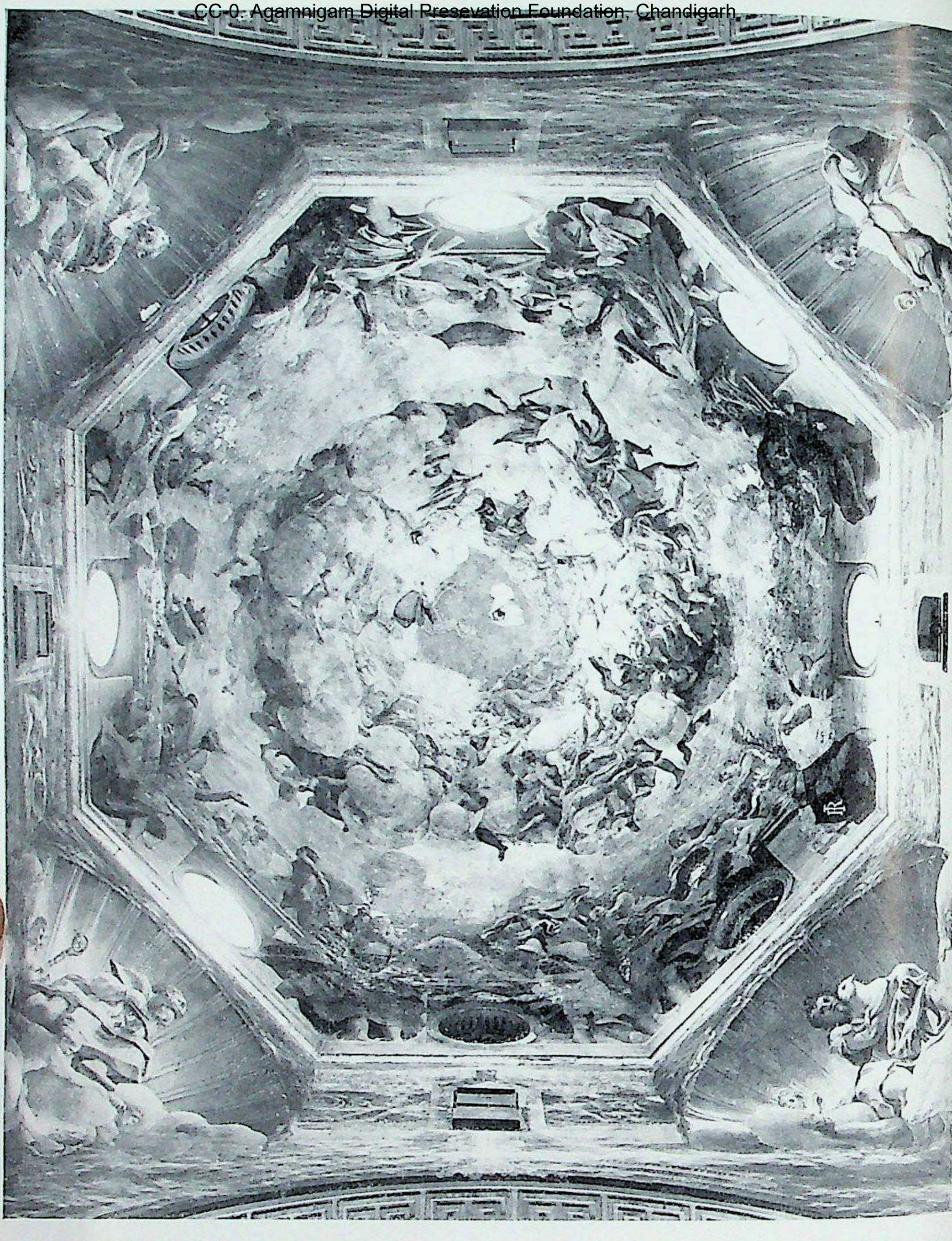
Correggio's grandest work which occupies his best years (1520–1524) are the frescoes in apse and cupola of San Giovanni in Parma. In the rounded part of the apse he painted the *Coronation of the Virgin* with saints and the angelic host, and in the cupola the 194 *Ascension of Christ*. In these frescoes he attempted the monumental style of the Sistine ceiling, though it is not known whether Correggio ever visited Rome. The titanic shapes and poses of Michelangelo's nudes have inspired the powerful corporality of the Apostles, sitting on banks of clouds in a wide circle around the ascending Christ. His apostolic Olympians are a new race of men, who accompany by their movements and ecstasy Christ's upward surge into the splendour of the Empyrean. The *Ascension* is framed by a spherical stone cornice, and Correggio filled the inner circle of his celestial landscape with voluminous clouds, where his great bearded nudes are embedded like gods, two by two, with angels at their feet or filling the spaces between them. These muscular nudes sit astride the clouds in striking contrapost of limbs and heads, with shoulders thrust upwards and arms reaching across their bodies, with hair and beards flying in the breeze, like Bernini's fountain deities of the next century. Above, in the luminous centre, ringed by cherubs, in a blaze of light and transparent air, Christ ascends to heaven, propelled by invisible powers, His right arm raised to the Father, His left blessing the earth which He is leaving. The Christ of Raphael's *Transfiguration* comes to mind, but in Correggio's Redeemer the supernatural is made more real by aerial perspective and bold foreshortening, and by billowing robes and flowing hair. Correggio's advance from the graceful decorative fancies of San Paolo to the weighty individualisation of the Apostles in San Giovanni is astounding; for these are men of sublime power and passion in infinitely varied poses and a new freedom of ecstatic movement. Moreover,



194. CORREGGIO. *Ascension of Christ.* Parma, San Giovanni Evangelista (photo: Anderson).

the technical skill of presenting figures seen from below, in a transparent vacuum of air and of light, is a feat of spatial illusionism which will become the main vehicle of the Baroque.

Correggio devoted the years between 1526 and 1530 to the frescoes of the octagonal cupola of the dome of Parma, and here in the *Assumption of the Madonna,* his dionysiac frenzy transcended all 195 known limits of pictorial art. Saints and angels are arranged in two circles amidst billowing clouds, and the tangle of limbs, the rapturous movement is such that no individual figure can be discerned. In the enthusiastic abandon, the rotating dance of the angelic host around the luminous centre, to the clangour of cymbals, the laws of gravity are abandoned and the celestial bodies sway and swirl in indissoluble



195. CORREGGIO. *Assumption of the Madonna.* Parma, Cathedral (photo: Anderson).

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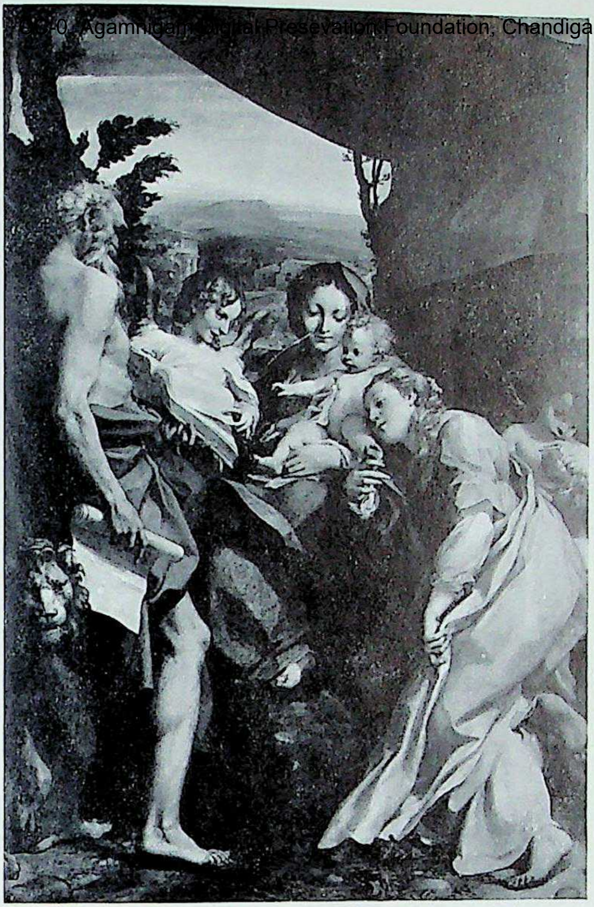
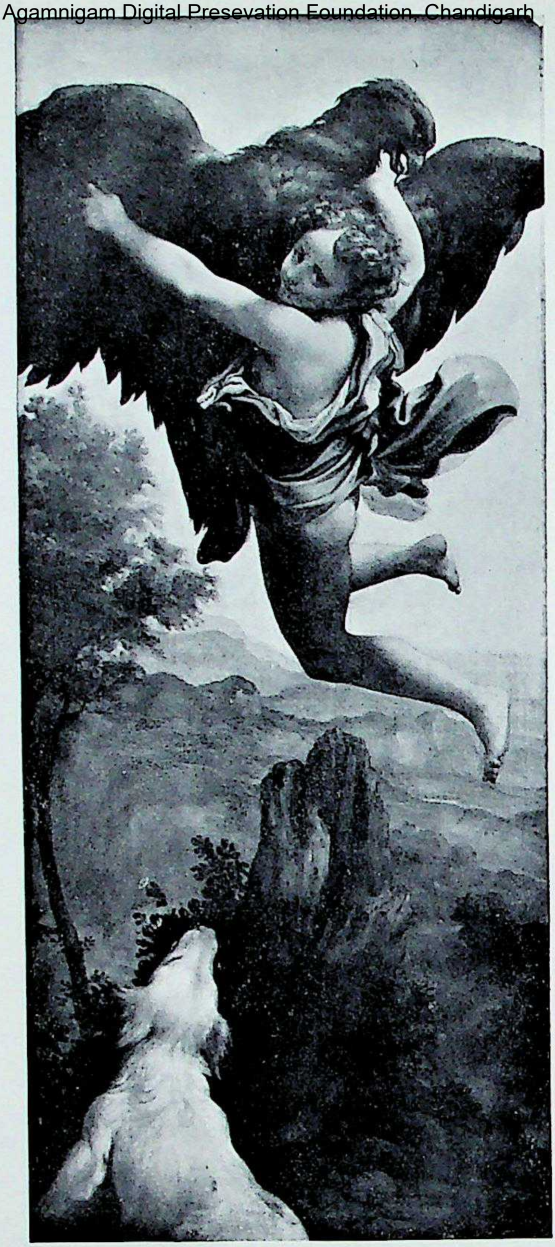


196. CORREGGIO. *Madonna with S. Jerome.* Parma, Pinacoteca (photo: Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale).

clusters. The Madonna, borne aloft by cherubs, has spread her arms wide and thrust her head upwards in exultation. Nowhere in the painting of the Cinquecento was the spatial illusionism, the ecstatic movement and the suspension of all physical laws so triumphantly realised. But the first Roman cupola of the Full Baroque by Giovanni Lanfranco in S. Andrea della Valle, composed nearly a century later in three great wreaths of rapturous figures embedded in clouds and unified by light, took its inspiration from Correggio's *Assumption.*

During the same years he painted his finest altarpieces like the Dresden *Nativity* and *Pala of S. George,* the Parma *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* and the *Madonna with S. Jerome.* Here he



197. CORREGGIO. *Ganymede*. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (photo: Arts Council of Gt. Britain).

created one of the loveliest figure compositions in art, between the 196 cornerstones of contrasting figures, the lofty and virile S. Jerome and the blond Magdalene, who bows her beauteous face with such loving abandon towards the Child, to kiss His tiny foot. The lively Child, sprawling upon His mother's lap, strains to grasp the pages of a book which a smiling angel holds up to Him. Under the crimson tent, which shelters this group from the rays of the sun, stretches a wide landscape in the silvery light. The refined elegance and languid charm of the figures is matched by the harmonies of pale red, pale blue and opalescent yellow before the greyish blue distances. The Madonna has something of Leonardo's smile and lowered lids. Behind Magdalene a red faced boy-angel bearing the cup, gazes up with touching sadness.

The last years of Correggio's meteoric life were spent in painting mythological subjects for a new patron, Duke Federigo Gonzaga of Mantua. For him Correggio explored the field of pagan legend, of *Danae* and *Leda, Io* and *Ganymede*. The handsome boy, spreading his arms wide to hold fast to the wings of Jupiter's eagle, who will 197 bear him aloft to Olympus, looks triumphantly over his shoulder. His slender body is modelled by chiaroscuro, his garment flutters in the breeze, and his buoyant movement suggests the weightless effort of flight. The silhouette of boy and eagle is set against a radiant sky, and the depth is enhanced by the rugged tree trunk and the yelping dog. The illusion of space is carried beyond by the receding hills, which lose themselves, layer upon layer, in the hazy blue of infinite distances. Thus Correggio, by the utter refinement of pictorial means, creates a new beauty, where landscape and the human figure melt into one.

FEDERIGO BAROCCIO of Urbino (1526–1612), formed his pictorial style after Correggio. In the gaiety, the ingenuousness and the roseate softness of his figures, he anticipates the grace of the eighteenth century. By the suavity, verve and florid elegance of his religious compositions he shares the anti-Classical tendencies of the Mannerist movement.

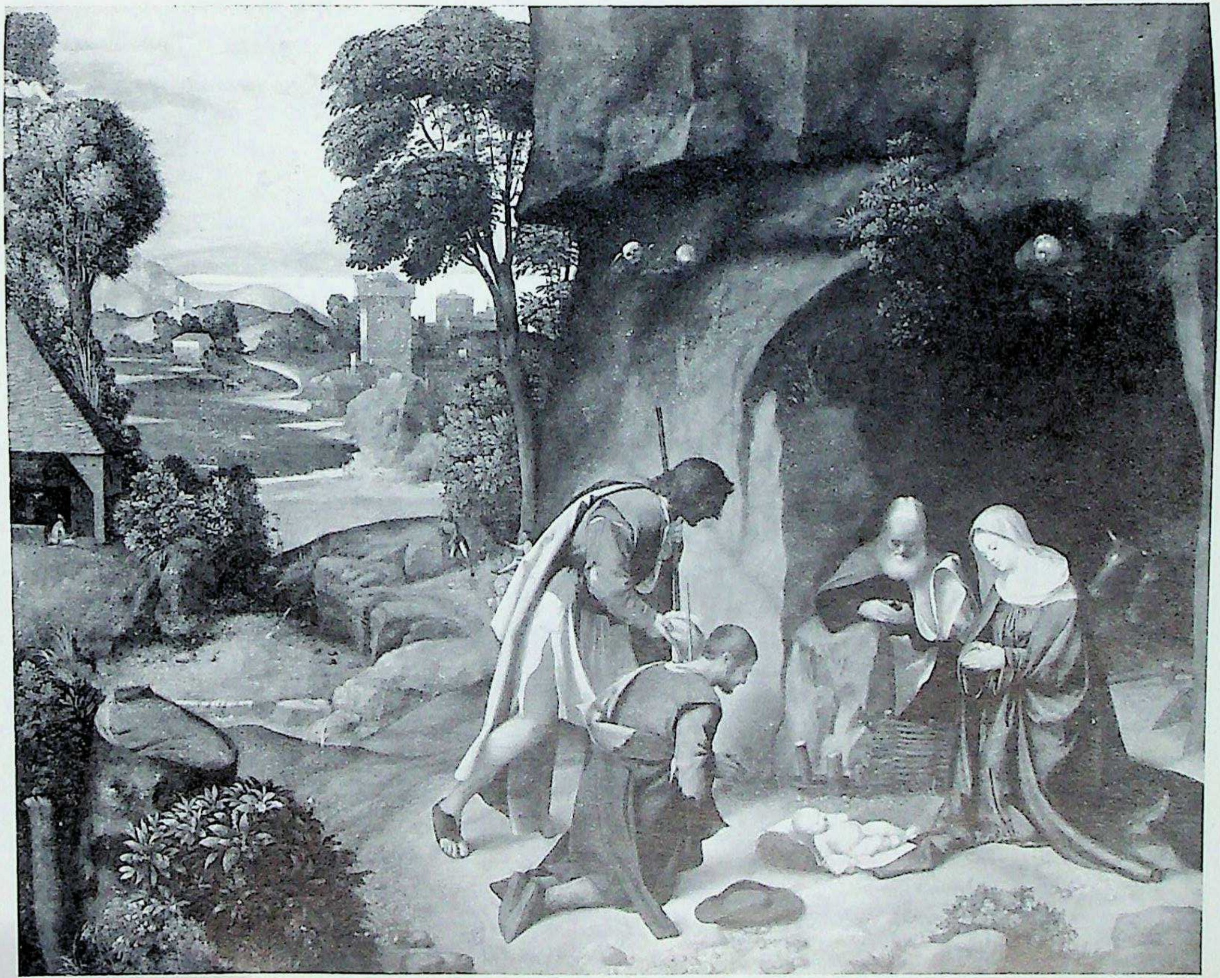
XXVII. THE SPELL OF GIORGIONE.

Giorgio da Castelfranco — Sebastiano del Piombo — Vincenzo Catena — Palma Vecchio.

Slow unfolding of GIORGIONE'S genius from the Quattrocento style of Giovanni Bellini to the chromatic colour and atmospheric light of his maturity. A new poetic concept of man and nature. The human figure is wholly integrated into the ambience. Giorgione's colour modulates form without linear contour or sculptural isolation. Since 1508, the year of the Fondaco frescoes, Giorgione develops a monumental and Classical form of figure composition, adopted by SEBASTIANO DEL PIOMBO and Titian, while VINCENZO CATENA continued the romanticism of Giorgione.

Venetian painting of the Renaissance developed parallel to that of the other great art centres in Italy and in the sixteenth century took away the lead from formalistic and intellectual Florence by its painterly vision of man and universe. It aimed at presenting form not by plastic relief and delineating contour, but by composite colour, light, mass and enveloping atmosphere. During the first decade of the sixteenth century Venetian painting made a sudden leap forward from the calm religious world of Giovanni Bellini and prepared the way for the dramatic vitality and chromatic colour of Titian. The vehicle of this evolution was GIORGIO BARBARELLI from Castelfranco, known as GIORGIONE. Yet, wrote Bernard Berenson, 'there is no softly gliding transition from Bellini to Giorgione as there is from him to Titian . . . Nor in fact is it easy to say where Giorgione leaves off and Titian begins.'

Nothing is known about Giorgione's masters except by conjecture, and as he lived at the time of Bellini and Carpaccio who had absorbed the message of Antonello, and as his early works still bear the mark of the Quattrocento, he must be assumed their pupil. But modern research has shown that the young Giorgione also looked beyond the confines of Venice to the harmony between landscape and figures, the deep glowing colours of the Umbrian School. His
198 early masterpiece, the Washington *Adoration of the Shepherds* points to the influence of artists from Umbria and nearby Emilia. The fact is, that the genius of Giorgione unfolded slowly and that his revolution in vision and pictorial style did not come to full fruition until he painted the *Tempest* in the later years of his short meteoric life.



198. GIORGIONE. *Adoration of the Shepherds.* Washington, National Gallery of Art, Kress Collection (photo: National Gallery of Art).

In the *Adoration* the shape of the kneeling Madonna and the human sentiment are still Bellinesque; but Giorgione reveals a new beauty in the gem-like purity of form and colour. The protagonists are placed on one side, before the dark foil of the grotto, to make room for the winding landscape. This contains all the characteristic elements of the early Giorgione. The great overhanging rock in whose crevices grow grasses and ivy, balances alone the shimmering distances, the olive fields framed by tufted trees, the soft greensward and rustic buildings. The sunset glow lights up the foliage and the Flemish minutiæ of a naturalistic vision are contrasted by the Nativity scene, where rich colour constructs form as in the golden mantle of Joseph, the red and green of the Madonna's robe, the tattered rags of the shepherds. Nor is the Nativity without its mystic overtones through the unified vision of the dreaming landscape and the patriarchal bliss of the Holy Family, watched over by cherubs from the dark penumbra of the grotto.

Among the four or five certain works by Giorgione is the
199 *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints Francis and Liberale* in the Cathedral of Castelfranco. It was painted in 1505 for the condottiere Tuzio Costanzo, to commemorate the death of his son Matteo. The customary Venetian pala or Sacra Conversazione, representing the Madonna surrounded by Saints has been simplified and vitally changed by Giorgione. The Madonna is no longer encased in the Apse of a church with a throng of saints pressing upon her, but dominates the earthly and heavenly scene from her white marble throne. There are two points of vision and two horizons. The space is divided by a dark red parapet, and the saintly company is reduced to two representative figures : the warrior saint Liberale in shining armour, to whom the Church is dedicated—*Divo Liberale*—and the spiritual form of S. Francis.

The landscape is steeped in the warm light of summer; a pale blue sky lights up the horizon with roseate tints and envelops the blue mountain range, the distant lake in the diffused light of morning. The delicate light also invests the figures, the Madonna erect and remote, her eyes lowered in melancholy stillness. There is something regal in her composure and in the great scarlet mantle which spreads in generous folds over her knees. The Madonna unites the two worlds over which she rules, the Venetian landscape without and the sanctuary within, where the Saints keep vigil. The youthful S. Liberale stands firmly upon the ground, pensive and suave, resourceful, a heroic shape, more archangel than saint, in his shirt of mail, painted in smooth planes of black pigment and white

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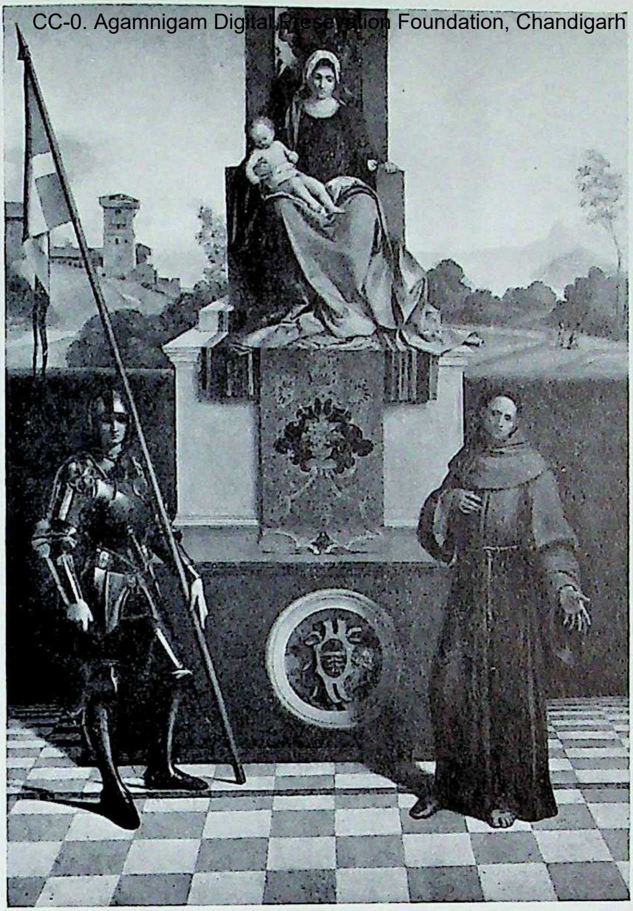
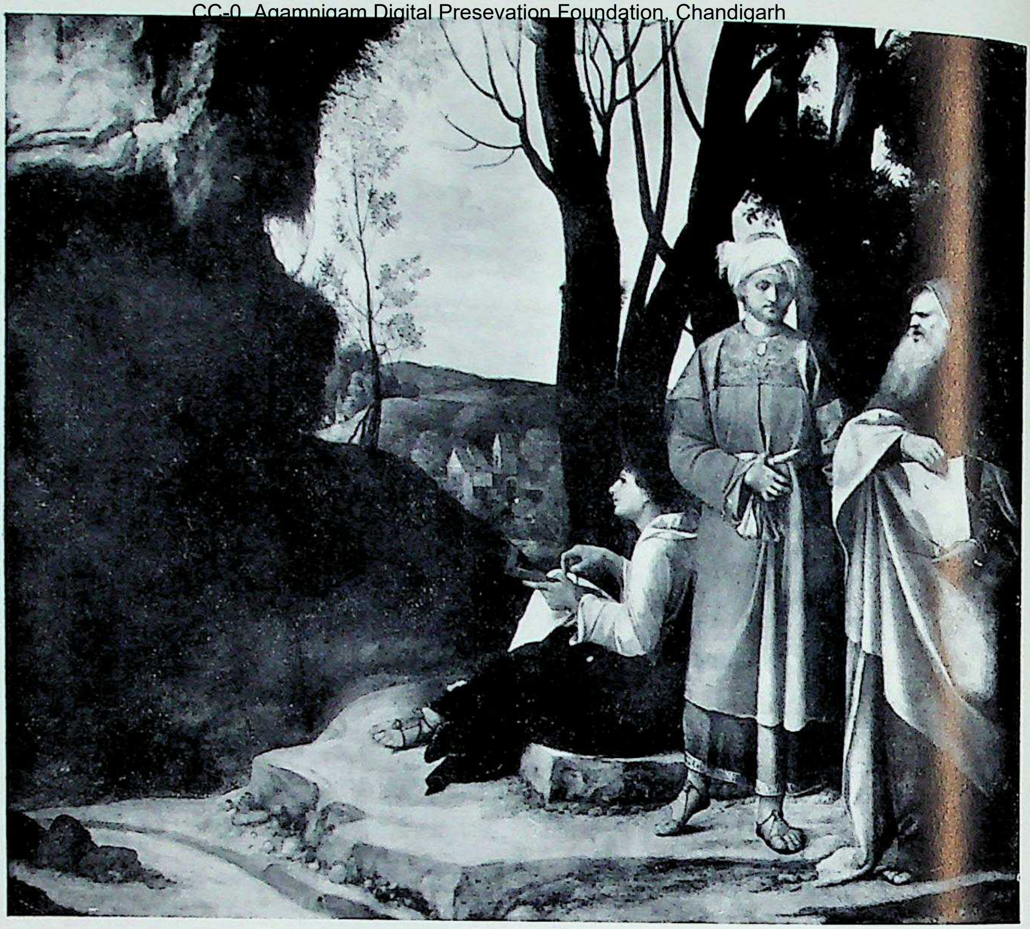


199. GIORGIONE. *Madonna with SS. Francis and Liberale.* Castelfranco, Cathedral (photo: Fiorentini).

highlights. Beside him S. Francis in his cowl of dark grey and brown, showing his stigmata, appears gentle and meek, the Saint of the Christian legend. Thus Giorgione's pala retains Bellini's pyramid of figures, but raises the Madonna up into the recession of space. Her immutable shape is the link between the two spheres: the full daylight of the extending landscape and the twilight below, which modulates the contemplative saints, isolated figures at the foot of the throne.

The Three Philosophers is neither a religious nor a mythological 200 picture, but altogther a new genre, a dream or idyll of three resplendent figures, meditating in a landscape of rocks and trees, painted



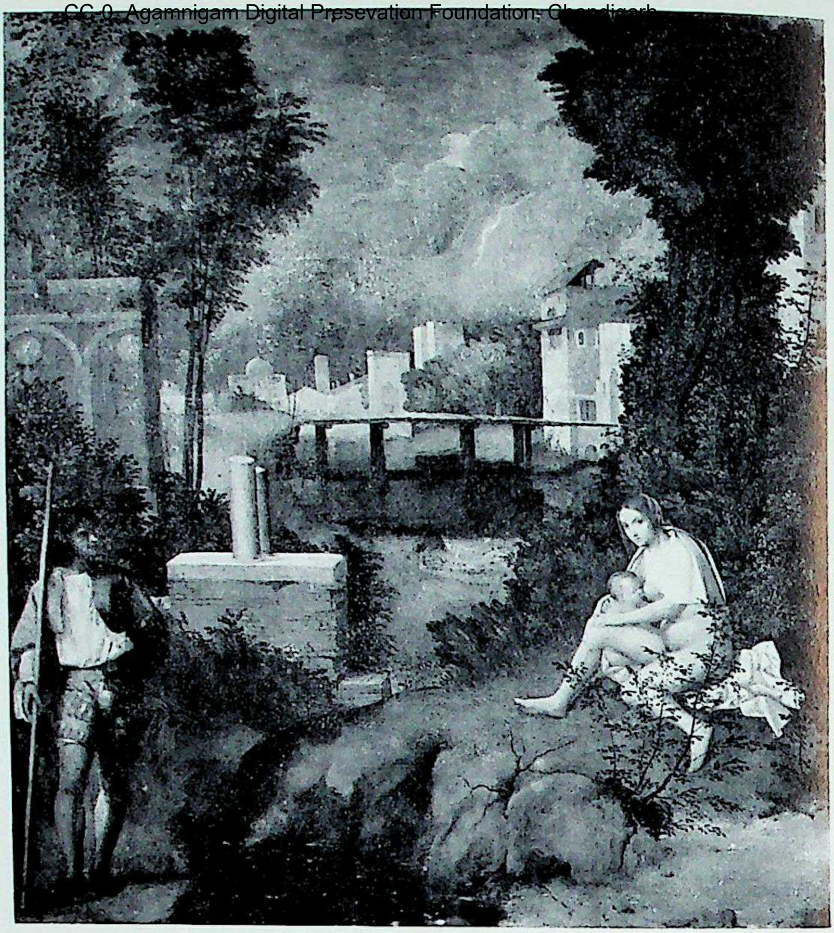
200. GIORGIONE. *The Three Philosophers.* Vienna, Museum (photo: Kunsthist. Museum).

in rich glowing tones, which burst out from the dark foliage under an orange sky. The human mind, anxious to discover some hidden meaning in the philosophical co-existence of a stern irascible patriarch, a melancholy oriental and a poetic youth, has deeply probed into the significance of this picture. For Giorgione lived close enough to the humanistic circles of Venice and Padua, to have painted scholastic concepts; suggested to him by his patrons.

Giorgione favoured such rich enigmata. He gave comeliness and fervour to the observant youth who measures nature with compass and sextant, a wistful gravity to the turbaned man and a wrathful dignity to the bearded sage who holds an astronomical scroll. These representatives of the Schools he placed in a solitary spot where nature inspires quiet discourse, a monumental Symposium. Between the solid rock and the pattern of interlacing trunks lies a delicate landscape, rising from mill stream and meadowland to the deep blue mountains beyond, under the golden light of the setting sun. Painting in the dominant key of green and red and gold, but no longer applied in Bellini's circumscribed planes of colour, Giorgione freed Venetian painting from the tyranny of line by modelling his large figures in sculptural roundness of form. The magic of his brush, an inward glow, opalescent and broken tones and evocative light are enhanced by their emergence from the dark opposing masses of rock and foliage.

Only with *The Tempest* does Giorgione become a revolutionary. 201 Vasari wrote in his life of Titian that in 1507 Giorgione began to counterfeit nature only with the colours, 'senza disegno.' It is the crucial moment in Venetian painting, the birth of the painterly style, where chromatic colour and vibrant light and atmospheric space create pictorial form, and linear design is absorbed in the symphonic unity of paint. Now 'everything loses its plastic consistency and becomes pure pictorial impression' (Zampetti). *The Tempest* exalts the elemental forces of nature and creates a vast spatial depth by fluctuating light and composite colour. The thunderous, cloud-ridden sky is torn by flashes of lighting, turquoise and greenish blue, above the broad sweep of cubic houses and the luxuriant landscape. The ghostly buildings with their silvery sheen, the flickering lights and deep shadows reflected in the pool, the tall swaying trees and the surging water beneath the bridge contribute to the restive mood of nature. Yet while the grand cirque of houses and turrets lies ablaze in the sulphurous light, some pastoral idyll seems enacted in the foreground. The two figures that dwell on the mossy bank by the pool show no awareness of the storm, have no fear. These two strangely detached figures, a youth lightly leaning on his staff, who looks over his shoulder, yet not at his companion, and the nurturing mother with her child, symbolize the creative forces of nature.

The landscape of *The Tempest* is not merely an echo; the human figures form part of the earth, are wholly equivalent to rock and tree and stream, and share the unconscious life of the inanimate plant world around them, a perfect link in the pantheistic world-picture of Giorgione. The nimble upright youth, in leisurely contrapposto, is like a shepherd in Arcady; but the female nude by the brook, wistfully gazing into space, suggests the fruitfulness of the earth.



201. GIORGIONE. *The Tempest.* Venice, Academy (photo: Fiorentini).

The Tempest is a pastoral symphony, a strange blend of human shapes, known buildings and nature, at once a Venetian reality and a dream. 'Near a city, in a solitary place with ruins and buildings, isolated by tall trees, a man and a woman dream.' Nothing could seem more simple, more existentialist. Yet all the feverish life of the picture is in the complexity of colour and atmosphere, the reflected lights on houses and column, the turbulent flaming sky and the blending of turquoise and crimson and white with the browns and pastel greens of the cosmic surroundings. The emotional quality of a tempestuous landscape, the movement of clouds, the exploitation of light, the uncanny agitation of nature are in strange harmony with the enigmatic figures of the foreground.

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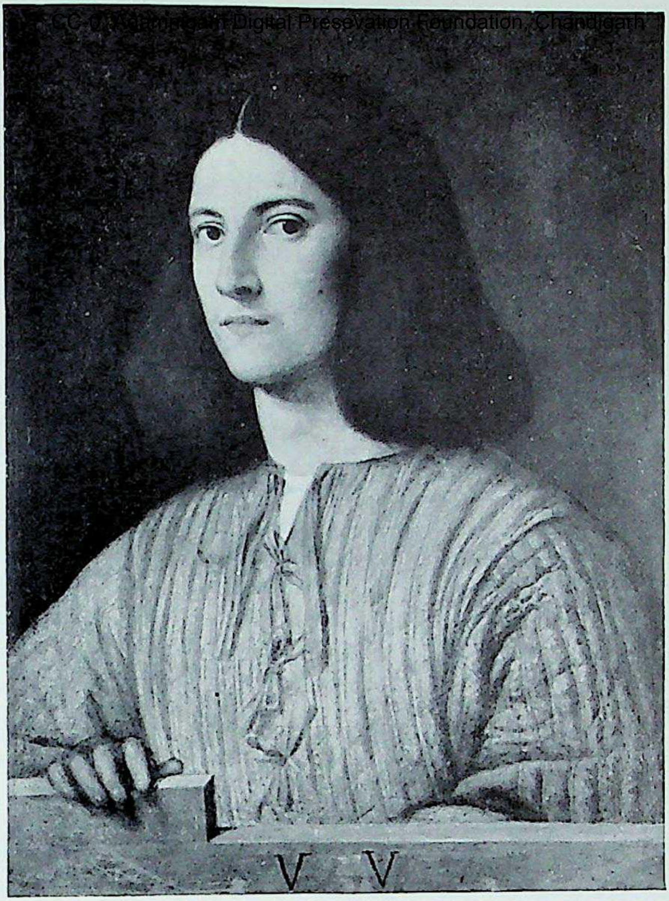

202. GIORGIONE. *Portrait of a Young Man.* Berlin, Museum.

In Giorgione's portraits the substance and primitive strength of Antonello have become spiritual and transparent. The slender form of the face, in the *Portrait of a Young Man* framed by the long 202 flowing hair in the Venetian style, the delicate flesh tints dissolving in the soft light and fleeting shadows, the highlights on forehead and neck, the rose-coloured face and auburn hair harmonise with the shimmering dress of pale lilac and blue. In the rounded folds of the tunic bluish tints seem to be laid over pale lilac to obtain a fluctuating incandescence, which lends to matter a strange spiritualisation. Yet from the painterly miracle of broken colours and changing tones emerges bodily form in the sweeping folds, the heavy stuffs that clothe and reveal a noble shape behind the grey stone

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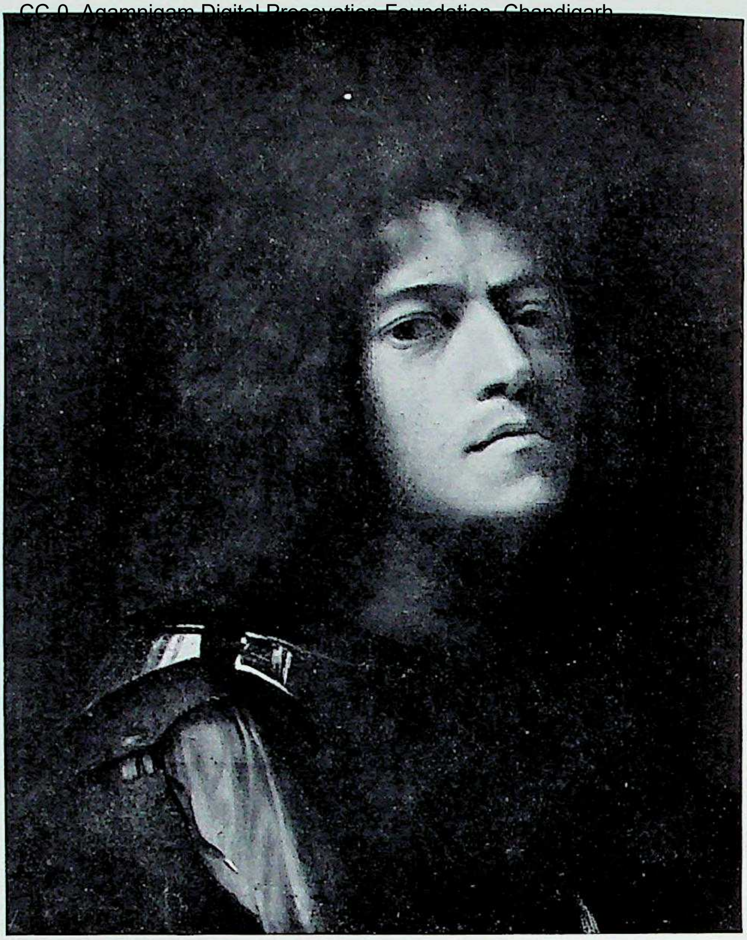
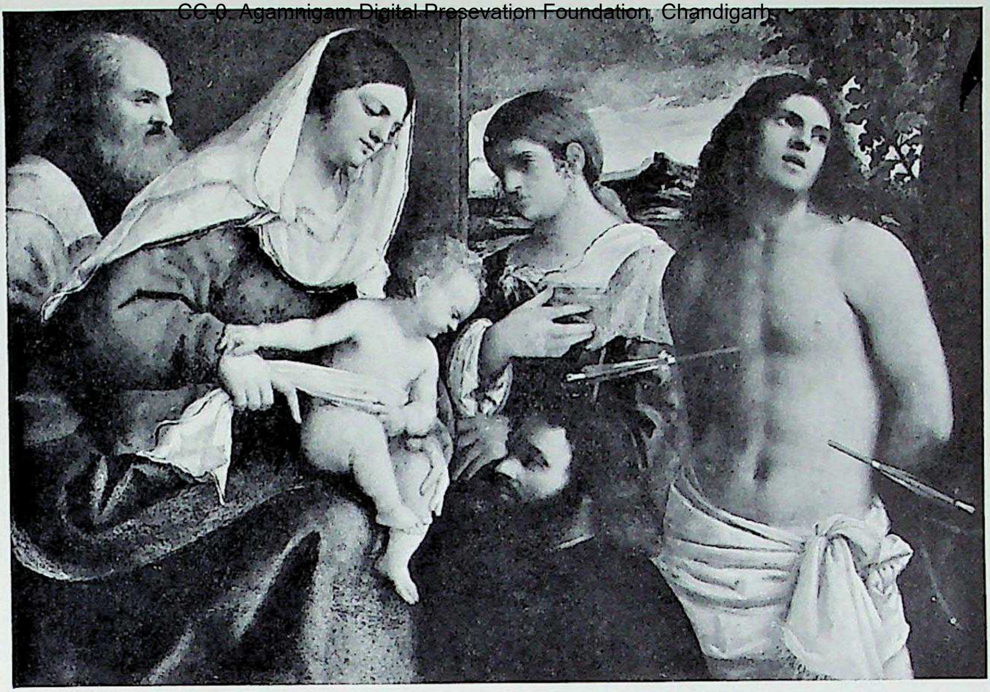


203. GIORGIONE. *Self portrait as David.* Brunswick, Museum (photo: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).

parapet upon which rests the strangely incongruous hand. The character of Giorgione's sitter is revealed with the utmost reserve in the sealed lips, the open gaze and the virile stance of the Venetian nobleman.

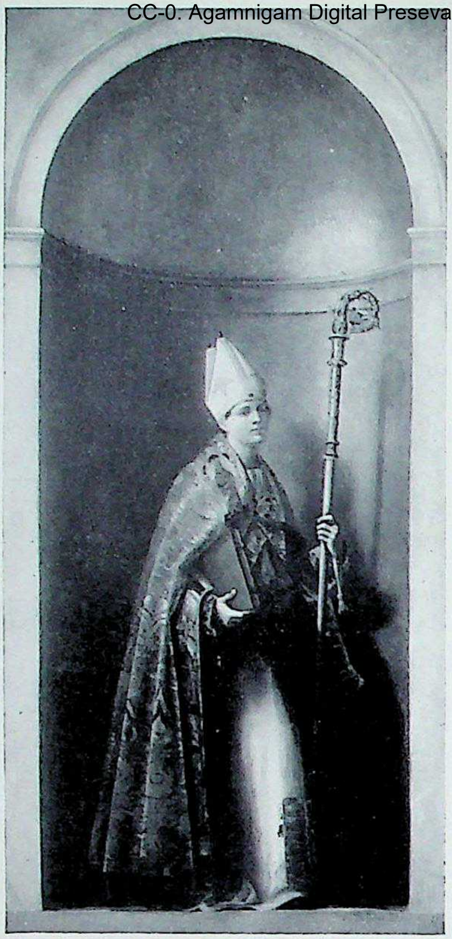
203 Giorgione's *Self Portrait as David* is a supreme example of modelling 'without design' by means of tone and of light. The powerful head, lit by the burning facial tints under the great crown of chestnut hair which flows down to the shoulders, is wholly wedded to the neutral background. The lofty spirituality, the firmness and comeliness of the heroic countenance are reflected in the substance of paint which moulds the generous forms, the light which illumines the face, the shadow which modulates neck and chin.



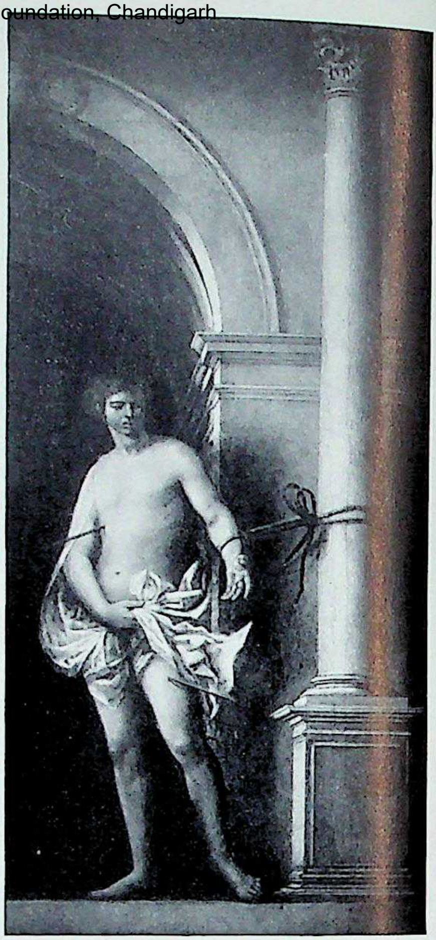
204. SEBASTIANO DEL PIOMBO. *Holy Family with SS. Ursula and Sebastian.* Paris, Louvre (photo: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).

Giorgione died young and his more eminent pupils like Titian and Sebastiano del Piombo may have completed some of his unfinished works: Sebastiano the *Three Philosophers* and Titian the Dresden *Venus,* where he painted part of the landscape, the silvery sheets and a Cupid. The Louvre *Concert Champêtre,* perhaps the most poetic work of Giorgione, where the opulent figures are wholly integrated into the landscape, has been ascribed by some to the young Titian, painting in the style of Giorgione.

Among the 'Giorgioneschi' SEBASTIANO DEL PIOMBO is the oldest, whose early works were painted in the rich impasto and the Classical language of form of the Fondaco frescoes. Born in 1485, he remained in Venice only until 1511, when he accepted an invitation to Rome, where he was to end in Michelangelo's 'Herculean arms' (Longhi). His Venetian masterpiece is the altar of *San Chrisostomus and other Saints,* in an architectural setting of receding columns and a distant landscape. In this modernised form of Sacra Conversazione Sebastiano combined sculptural mass and glowing colour with the dreamlike spirit and tonal harmonies of Giorgione, unified

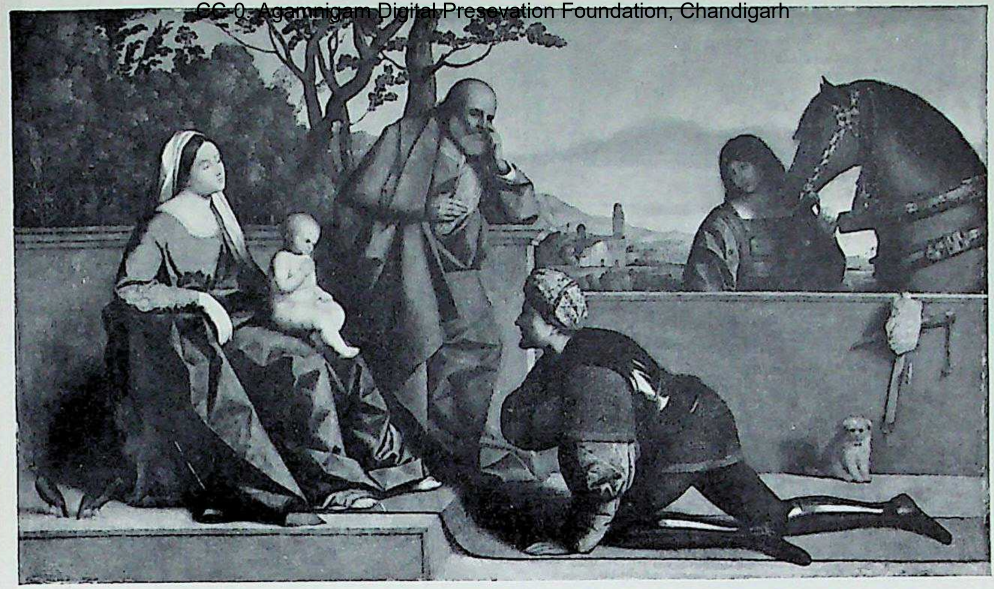


205. SEBASTIANO DEL PIOMBO. *S. Louis of Toulouse.* Venice, S. Bartolomeo a Rialto (photo: Fiorentini).



206. SEBASTIANO DEL PIOMBO. *S. Sebastian.* Venice, S. Bartolomeo a Rialto (photo: Fiorentini).

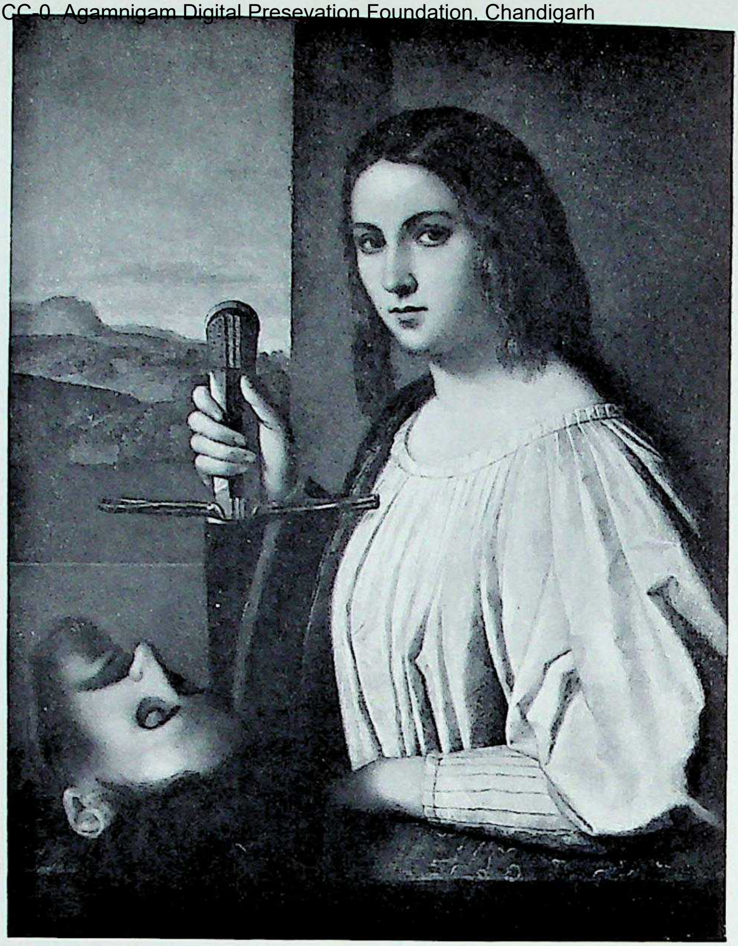
in the sunset light. These qualities prevail in the Louvre *Holy*
204 *Family with Saints Ursula and Sebastian,* which is one of the most Giorgionesque paintings of the School. For here a peaceful coexistence of figures before a Venetian landscape of greenish blue mountains is conveyed by a glow and warmth of rich colour, a dazzling impasto which models form without linear contour in smooth transition of planes. These blues and reds and whites have Giorgione's structural force and resonance to create monumental form, as in the great loop of the Madonna's mantle or the silvery white of her coif. The athletic S. Sebastian with the ardent gaze and the fullness of limb has the serenity of youth. This Venetian form of Madonna and Saints in a landscape, which Palma, Lotto,



207. VINCENZO CATENA. *Warrior adoring the Infant Christ.* London, National Gallery (photo: National Gallery).

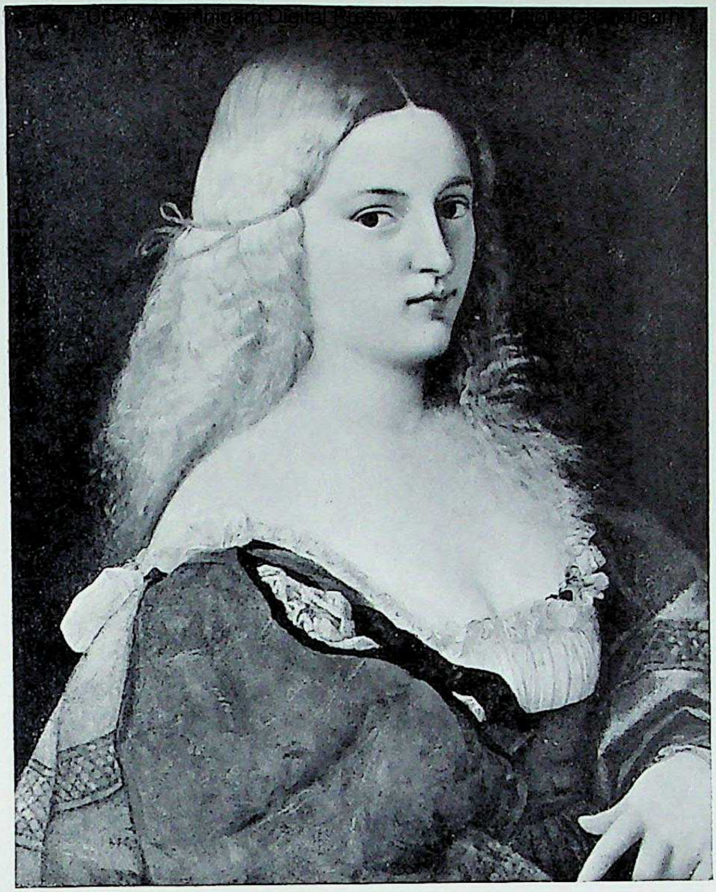
and Catena will paint for the domestic devotion, is very close to Giorgione's spirit, transformed by the robustness and luxuriance of Sebastiano.

Sebastiano moves Venetian painting out of the fifteenth century timidity into the realisation of sculptural power and breadth of the human figure. Already in his four full length Saints, painted upon the organ shutters at S. Bartolomeo a Rialto, he had combined Giorgione's tonal values and sensitive light with his own sense of mass and of movement. He placed his monumental Saints before a grand Roman archway with barrel vault, where the heroic nude of *S. Sebastian* is chained to a Corinthian column. Inside the shutters 206
he painted *S. Louis of Toulouse,* in an embroidered pluviale of red 205
velvet and gold, projecting a shadow upon the wall. The noble form of the Saint has something of Giorgione's spirit and his regal figure stands out miraculously from the hollow niche. The monumental effect is obtained by pictorial means: the fusion of tones, the shadows cast by book and sleeve upon the white tunic, the streaks of light which modulate form. Sebastiano gives predominance to the human figure in contrast to Giorgione's unified vision of man and universe.



208. VINCENZO CATENA. *Judith with the head of Holofernes.* Venice, Galleria Querini Stanpalia (photo: Osvaldo Böhm).

VINCENZO CATENA is another of Giorgione's followers whose best work reflects the quality of dream and the 'sweetness of human relationship' of his master. During the greater part of his life Catena painted large formal altarpieces and Sacred Conversations in the style of Giovanni Bellini, until his friendship with Giorgione, whom he met in humanist circles at Venice, resulted by 1506 in a sort of partnership. But even then he continued to use the broad simple planes, the clarity and precision of the Quattrocento. Only in his later works like the *Martyrdom of S. Cristina,* the *Judith* and the *Warrior adoring the Infant Christ,* does he seem imbued with Giorgione's style and spirit.



209. PALMA VECCHIO. *Violante.* Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (photo: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).

The National Gallery *Warrior adoring the Infant Christ,* translates the Giorgionesque into the romantic imagery of the Age of Chivalry. Before a Venetian landscape of luxuriant summer a young knight from the East in shining armour and crimson hose, kneels before the Madonna and Child, while outside the parapet a handsome page in a dress of pale purple looks on in wonder. The bright blue of the Madonna's mantle and the golden orange of S. Joseph's, the clear cut linearism of generous folds are set against the hazy blue of descending hills under the luminous sky. But the dreamlike beauty of the young groom is the most Giorgionesque figure of this romantic Adoration. **207**

It is curious that towards the end of his life, twenty years after Giorgione's death, Catena reverts again to the formative influence

208 of his youth, when he paints the *Judith with the Head of Holofernes.* The young woman clasping the jewelled hilt of her sword and leaning calm and composed upon the parapet where the noble head of Holofernes lies severed, is hardly a heroine. She belongs to the type of Venetian beauty which the followers of Giorgione evolved, Palma above all, whose distinction lies in the unruffled spirit clothed in a perfect human form and conveyed by shimmering colour.

The upright half-length of Catena's *Judith* is foiled by the grey wall into which a window is cut with a mountain view. As the volume of the figure occupies half the picture space, the balance is restored by the opening vista, the great sword and the head of Holofernes. The correspondence of verticals and horizontals is of the simplest. But the life-giving force, within the severity of Classical proportion, is the dignified form and the sumptuous colour with its subdued radiance of soft whites and deep red. Catena does not portray an emotional state, but a human still life of infinite loveliness, a Venetian reality under the spell of Giorgione.

209 PALMA VECCHIO'S *Violante* is indeed more sensuous and more resplendent in the golden opalescence of her flaxen hair, the glowing fleshtints and the ultramarine dress. But she too is of Giorgione's lineage, only more wordly and appealing, so that some have ascribed her to the young Titian.

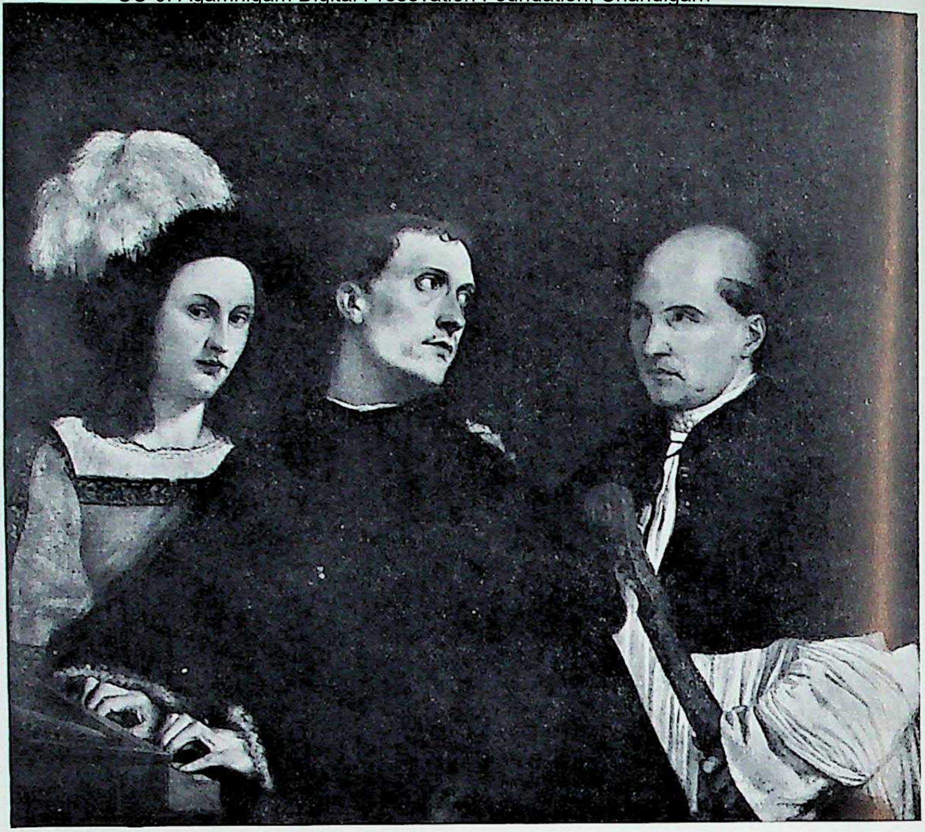
XXVIII. HEROIC DRAMA AND CHROMATIC COLOUR.

Titian of Cadore.

The early work of TITIAN is often indistinguishable from that of Giorgione. With the dramatic 'Assumption' (1516–1518) he breaks free from the contemplative vision and spiritual restraint of Giorgione. Titian's art is expressed in dynamic and sensual mythologies, sacred and profane. His colour develops from the tonal harmonies of Giorgione to the symphonic orchestration of glowing red, deep blue and golden brown of his middle-period. In old age he employs a thick grainy pigment which constructs form, embedded in atmosphere. Titian overcame the Tusco-Roman ideal of plastic relief by the use of chromatic colour and diffused light which create the cosmic surround of his last works.

But the greatest of all the followers of Giorgione was TITIAN. Born in the mountain village of Cadore, probably in 1487, he came to Venice as a boy of nine and served his apprenticeship in the Bellini workshop. By 1508 he is Giorgione's assistant at the Fondaco frescoes, and after the latter's death in 1510 he competes with Sebastiano for the succession in Venice of Giorgione's position, a contest which he won by Sebastiano's early departure for Rome. He completes several of Giorgione's unfinished pictures like the landscape with rustic buildings in the Dresden *Venus,* which recurs in the London *Noli Me Tangere,* and probably also the famous *Concert* in the Pitti Museum. In 1511 he was called to Padua to paint frescoes in the Scuola del Santo.

It is the spirit and the melody of Giorgione which coloured the early works of Titian so powerfully that for many years he could not free himself from the spell, and Bernard Berenson saw in the two great Venetians 'but one artistic personality.' Nowhere is this spiritual kinship more strongly felt than in the central figure of the Pitti *Concert* and in the human relationship of the group. The impas- 210 sioned restraint and sensitive spirituality of the monk, whose ascetic head is turned questioningly to his companion, as he listens to the music, transcends the power of the young Titian and must derive from the concept of Giorgione. Yet the strong emphasis on structural form, the taut bony fingers, the shaded neck and strong jaw, the articulation of planes suggest a more vigorous brush than that of the master of Castelfranco. But the spirit is his, the overtones, the momentary suspense, the spark kindled, the sound reverberating in the room. The head of the monk reveals a powerful intellect,

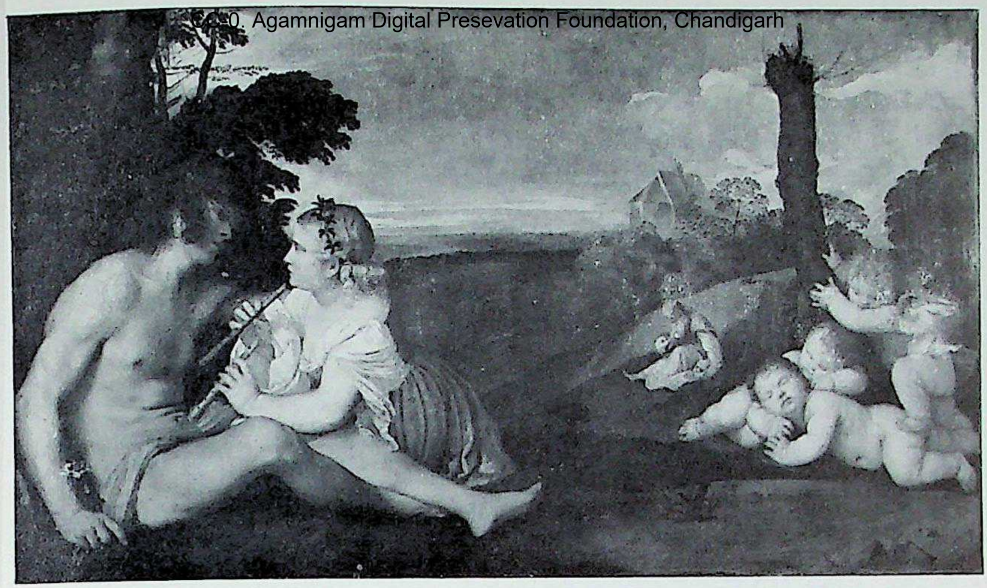


210. TITIAN. *Concert.* Florence, Pitti Palace (photo: Soprintendenza alle Gallerie di Firenze).

and the hollow eyes, the lean cheeks, the compressed lips a burning passion.

The youth with the plumed hat and light brown doublet serves as a foil to the virile monk; but the clerk with his viol looks responsively at his companion and lightly touches his shoulder. All forms emerge softly from the dark surround, conveying 'that calm unearthly glow, the skill which has caught the waves of wandering sound and fixed them for ever on the lips and hands' (Walter Pater).

Another variation on a Venetian theme, where sound stirs affection is the Giorgionesque pastoral in Lord Ellesmere's collection: *The*
211 *Three Ages of Man.* It is a pause in the concert, a moment of rapture and recognition, where the flutes are no longer raised to the mouth, and the beautiful girl, flower-wreathed, in her white and rose coloured dress, gazes at the enchanted shepherd. While the lovers represent the short bloom of life, two putti are asleep upon a

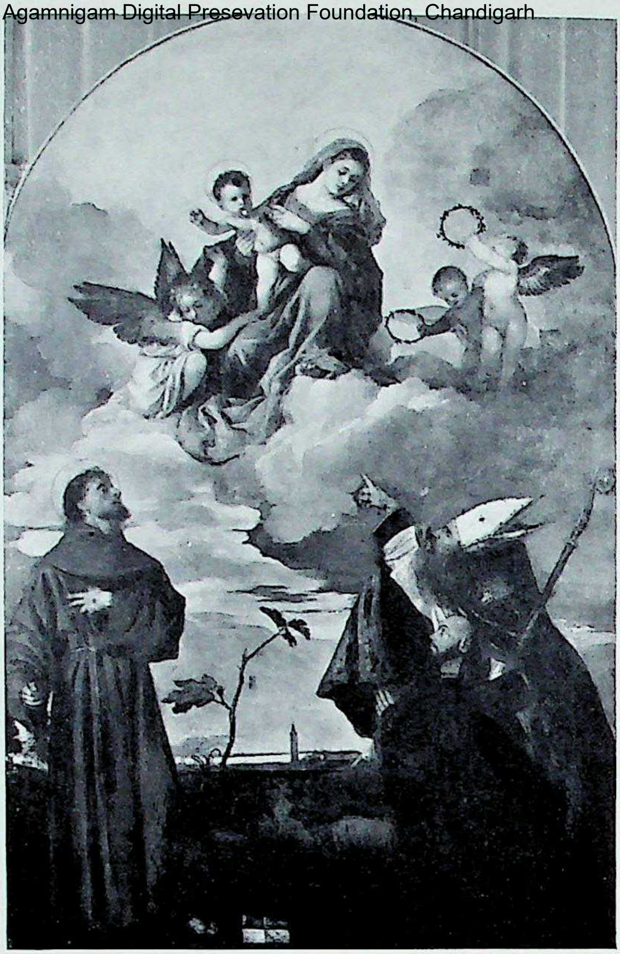


211. TITIAN. *The Three Ages of Man.* Lord Ellesmere Collection (photo: Courtesy Lord Ellesmere).

second plane, and a third playfully climbs the trunk of a willow which is as yet barren and without foliage. Farther afield an old man, robed in pale lilac, is seated upon the greensward, meditating between two skulls, withdrawn into himself and his solitude, unaware of the white clouds of summer and the blue mountain distance under the luminous sky.

When Titian returned from Padua to Venice in 1513, he applied to the Serenissima for the coveted post of official painter to the Republic. This he did not obtain until 1516 on the death of Bellini and for the next sixty years he ruled supreme. His creative power, his range, his versatility were inexhaustible. He attracted the patronage of great princes and ecclesiastical bodies. Side by side he would paint great religious altarpieces like the *Assumption* at the Church of the Frari and the pagan mythologies for Duke Alfonso of Ferrara. His vitality, his exuberant fantasy found simultaneous expression in the glorification of the Christian Virgin and in the *Feast of Venus,* and the wreath of cherubs in the one becomes an intoxicated army of small Cupids in the other.

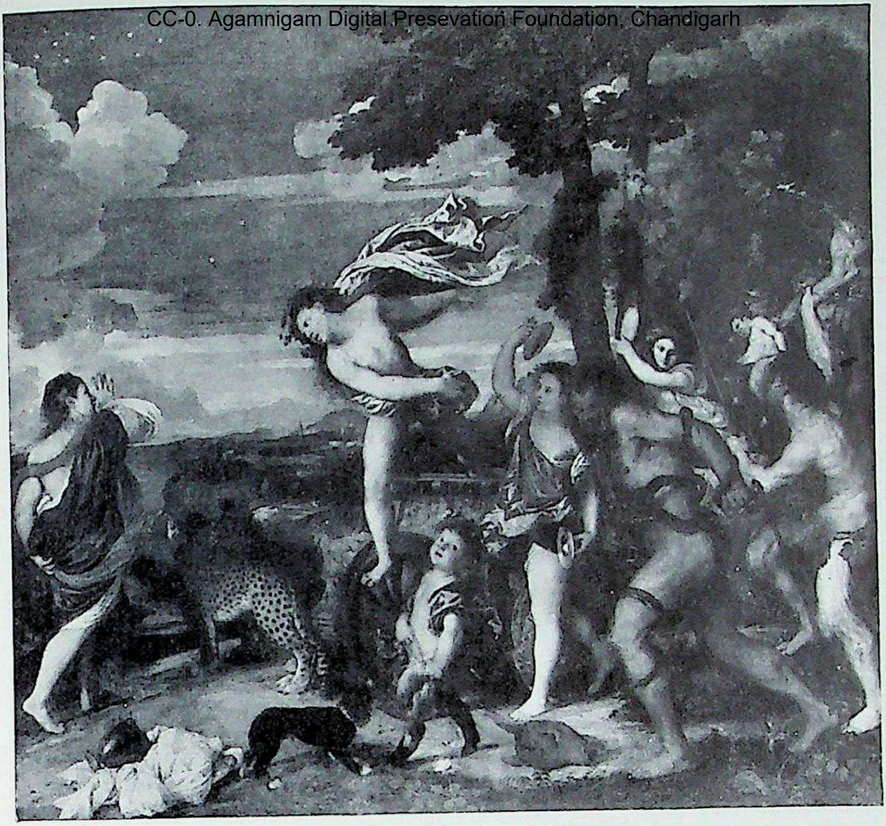
In the *Assumption* Titian's art is liberated from the static and contemplative vision of Giorgione. Its keynote is dramatic and abandoned movement, with great accents of colour and light. A pervasive glow emanates from the red robe of the Madonna who,



212. TITIAN. *Madonna and Child with Saints and a Donor.* Ancona, Pinacoteca (photo: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).

wrapped in a blue mantle, spreads her arms wide to be received by the Eternal Father in the luminous Empyrean. Below upon the earth, but straining after the Madonna who has left them, is the solid group of Apostles, dark silhouettes of men with upturned heads and pointing hands. A picture of such exuberance was too sensuous for the Franciscan friars who needed persuasion to accept the commissioned masterpiece.

Only a few years later, inspired by the same dynamic energy, he
212 painted the *Madonna and Child with Saints and a Donor* at Ancona. And here the explosive movement is given to the bishop Aloysius who with violent gesture indicates the miracle of the Madonna and



213. TITIAN. *Bacchus and Ariadne.* London, National Gallery (photo: National Gallery).

Child appearing in the clouds to the kneeling donor. The low horizon, with the flat expanse of Venetian lagoon and Campanile, leaves scope for the tremendous sky, deep blue and chrome-yellow with mounting grey clouds, where the Virgin appears in blue and roseate garments. As she looks down upon the saintly bishop, so the Child bends with blessing towards S. Francis. Two putti of the Assunta type offer garlands to the Madonna and a Baroque angel completes the pyramidal design of the upper sphere. These dynamic figures are seen against the radiant sky, and the dramatic effect of the composition lies as much in the structural force of symphonic colour as in the vitality of the figures.

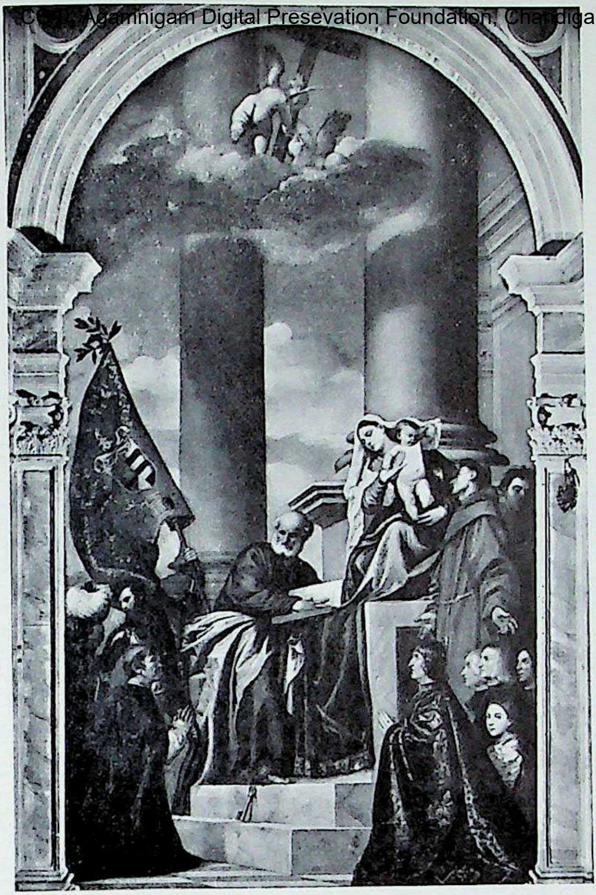
Red and blue form the dominant key in all Titian's paintings of this period. The London *Bacchus and Ariadne,* the third of the 213 mythologies painted for Duke Alfonso of Ferrara, is no exception.

Walter Pater speaks of the strange romantic god 'himself a woman-like god,' for it was 'on women and feminine souls that his power mainly fell.' For Bacchus inspires not only the maenads with their wild music and yearning, following in his train with satyrs and snake-entwined Silenus, but is himself of soft and volatile beauty. As he leaps from his tiger-drawn chariot, ivy-wreathed, with a sudden twist of the body and passionate glint of the eye, Ariadne moves towards the shore. She flees like an Antique nymph from pursuing satyrs, her hands raised to the blue mountain distance, her eyes lifted up to the god, hastening on, yet already yielding with lagging steps.

Titian's power of subsuming infinite detail to the larger masses of the design, painted with such breadth and vitality—inlets and promontories and steeples, ranges and wooded slopes, or the single flower that blooms in the foreground—never impairs: the 'fierce and full-blooded' glorification of dionysiac joys, the creative energy and sensuous beauty.

In the middle twenties other religious compositions of great import follow, like the Louvre *Entombment* and the Pesaro altarpiece. The *Entombment* simplifies and vitalises Raphael's scheme and lends to the bearers heroic form and credible weight, compactness and strength to the horizontal group. The figures tread the earth firmly, Christ's body is nobly relaxed in the silken shroud, and the tragic emotion of the protagonists is conveyed by compassionate gesture and movement. The sonorous chords of colour, Venetian red and blue and inky-green, give to the painting its solemnity and power.

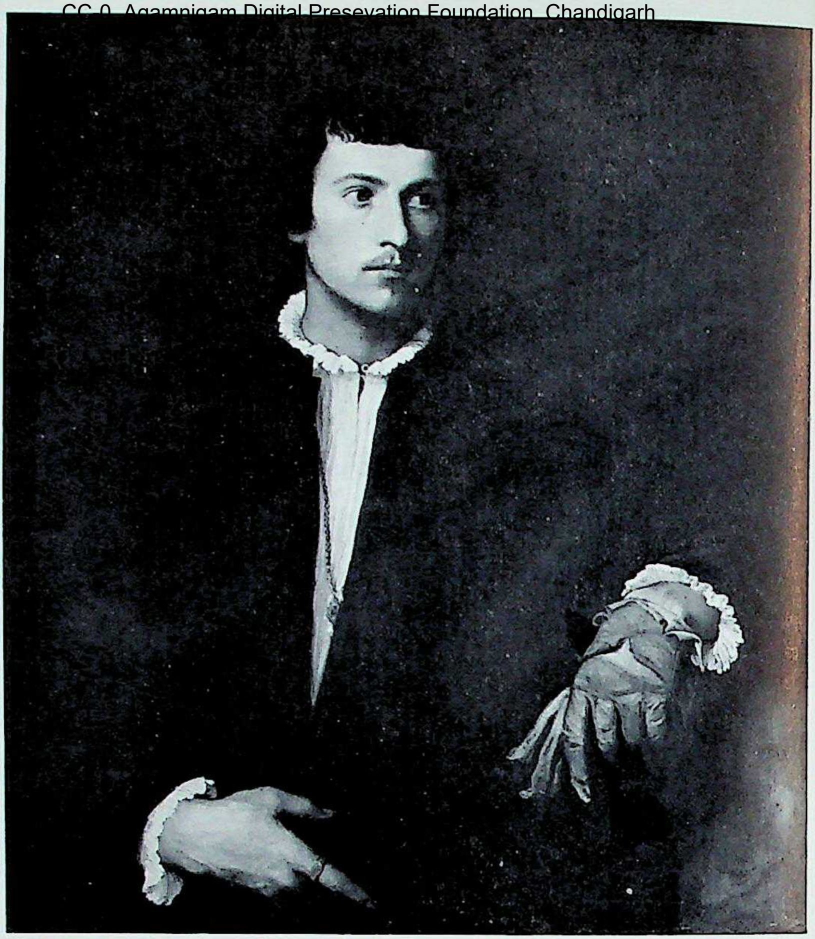
214 More revolutionary is the *Altarpiece for the Pesaro Family* in Santa Maria dei Frari. Here the traditional form of the Venetian Pala has been abandoned and the figures are arranged in diagonal depth like a great human pyramid. The Madonna and Child are no longer in the centre, but aloft on the steps of a church, foiled by two powerful columns. Heavenly grace radiates in two directions as the Madonna turns towards S. Peter, who intercedes for the kneeling cleric, and the Child blesses S. Francis and through him the other members of the Pesaro clan. Three generations of this Venetian family, admirals and seafaring folk kneel in adoration, led by the majestic Jacopo Pesaro in gold-embroidered crimson, and behind him other members of the family, of whom the youngest and fairest, robed in white satin, looks out of the picture with frank and inquiring gaze. The construction in depth is enhanced by the great accents of colour and light—the golden mantle of Peter, the



214. TITIAN. *Altarpiece for the Pesaro Family.* Venice, Frari Church (photo: Anderson).

Madonna's carmine and blue—and the radiance upon the Madonna and Child also illumines the cherubs upon the clouds. Thus by colour and light, by diagonal movement in depth Titian breaks with the Classical arrangement of figures and hails in the dramatic and oratorical Baroque.

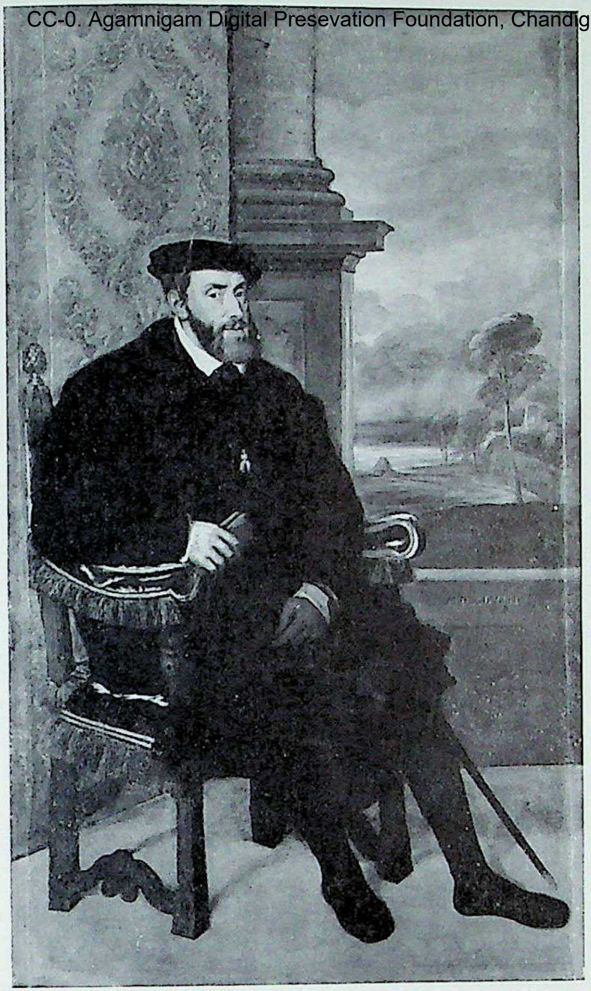
From about 1530 Titian develops a new grandeur of landscape-backgrounds and allows the heroic scenery an equal share with the figure composition. The solid group of the *Madonna and S. Catherine,* in the National Gallery, with its bright accents of blue and lemon yellow, is almost superimposed upon the solitary landscape—a sweeping valley of the Alps, with the impressionist herds and shepherds, wisps of cloud and bursts of light drifting amid the deep azure



215. TITIAN. *Man with Glove.* Paris, Louvre (photo: Giraudon).

of the distant ranges. Thick pigment constructs the successive folds of undulating meadows, the rich foliage tipped by light, and the deep blue of cloudcapped mountains. It is the prelude to Titian's ripest style where colour constructs form, and depth is created by variations of tone.

In his portraits Titian combined psychological penetration with an utmost reserve and a supreme command of pictorial means. The Admiral Pesaro is portrayed as a dignitary of the Venetian state, but also as a powerful Renaissance individual. The earlier *Man*
215 *with Glove* in the Louvre, still Giorgionesque in the inscrutable calm of his young manhood, is already a masterpiece of pictorial realisation. He emerges in black from the dark background by dint



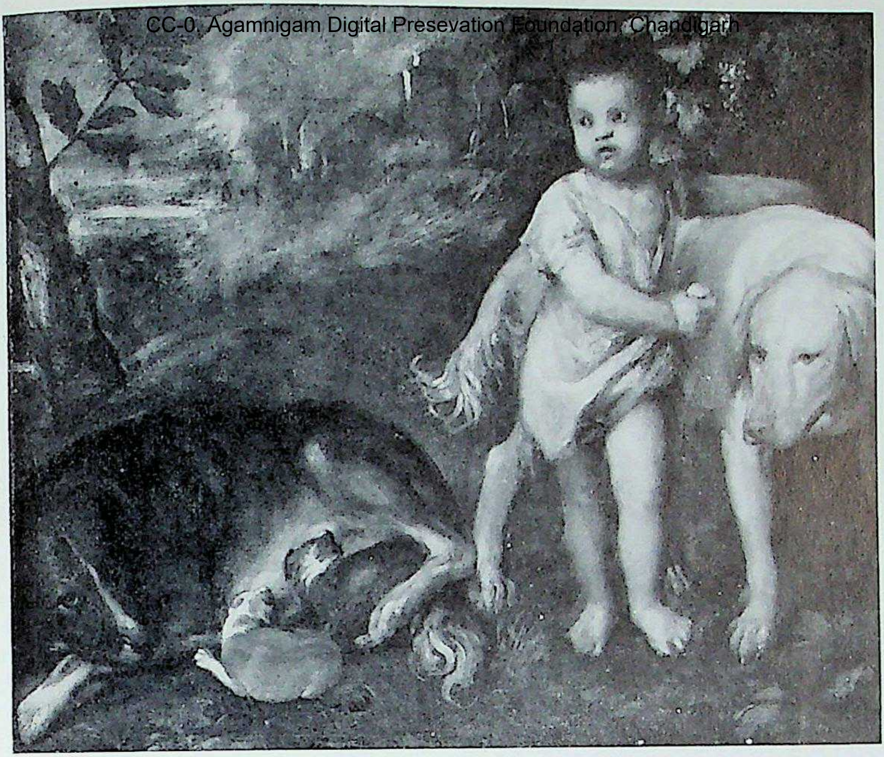
216. TITIAN. *Portrait of Charles V.* Munich, Pinakothek (photo : Bayer. Staatsgemälde-Samm.).

of tonal gradations and light which is strongest in the gleaming eye and the perpendicular pleats. His gloved hand is a still life of painterly skill in the crumpled leather of greyish-brown, and the lassitude of this hand is contrasted by the glowing fleshtints of the other.

In 1532 Titian had met the Emperor Charles V and now begins the spate of official portraiture, culminating in the equestrian portrait and in the seated likeness of the Emperor, painted in 1548 after the battle of Mühlberg. The Emperor is relaxed in a moment of political 216 respite. He has overcome his protestant foes in Germany. It is a moment of conquest and of triumph. But Titian sees beneath the surface, and his likeness of Charles is at once a noble portrait of state and a human document. The conqueror is not flushed by victory, but weary, saddened, resigned. His ascetic face is marked by suffering, physical and spiritual. The wisdom of these far-seeing eyes, the great will, are resolved into melancholy. Titian has inscribed all this and painted the Emperor as a dark tragic figure before the red and gold tapestry, while the projecting column and plinth lead the eye to the solitary landscape without.

Returning to Venice from the Imperial Court at Augsburg, Titian had still a quarter of a century of creative work before him. In the late 1550's he painted his monumental mythologies for King Philip II of Spain, *Diana and Actaeon, Venus and Adonis, The Rape of Europa* and others, and in these he developed his last pictorial manner where the Renaissance ideals of form and space are transformed by a cosmic vision of vibrant colour and light. Plastic relief is abandoned for a new painterly fullness of form, embedded in flaming colour and mysterious light. The younger Palma who completed Titian's last work in Venice, the tragic *Pietà* of the Academy has recorded his method : 'He gave the last touch to his pictures by adjusting with his fingers the transitions from the highest lights to the half tones, or he would apply with his fingers a spot of black in one corner or heighten with a dab of red, like a drop of blood the liveliness of the surface; and thus he gradually brought his figures to completion. In the last stages of the work he painted more with his fingers than with the brush . . .'

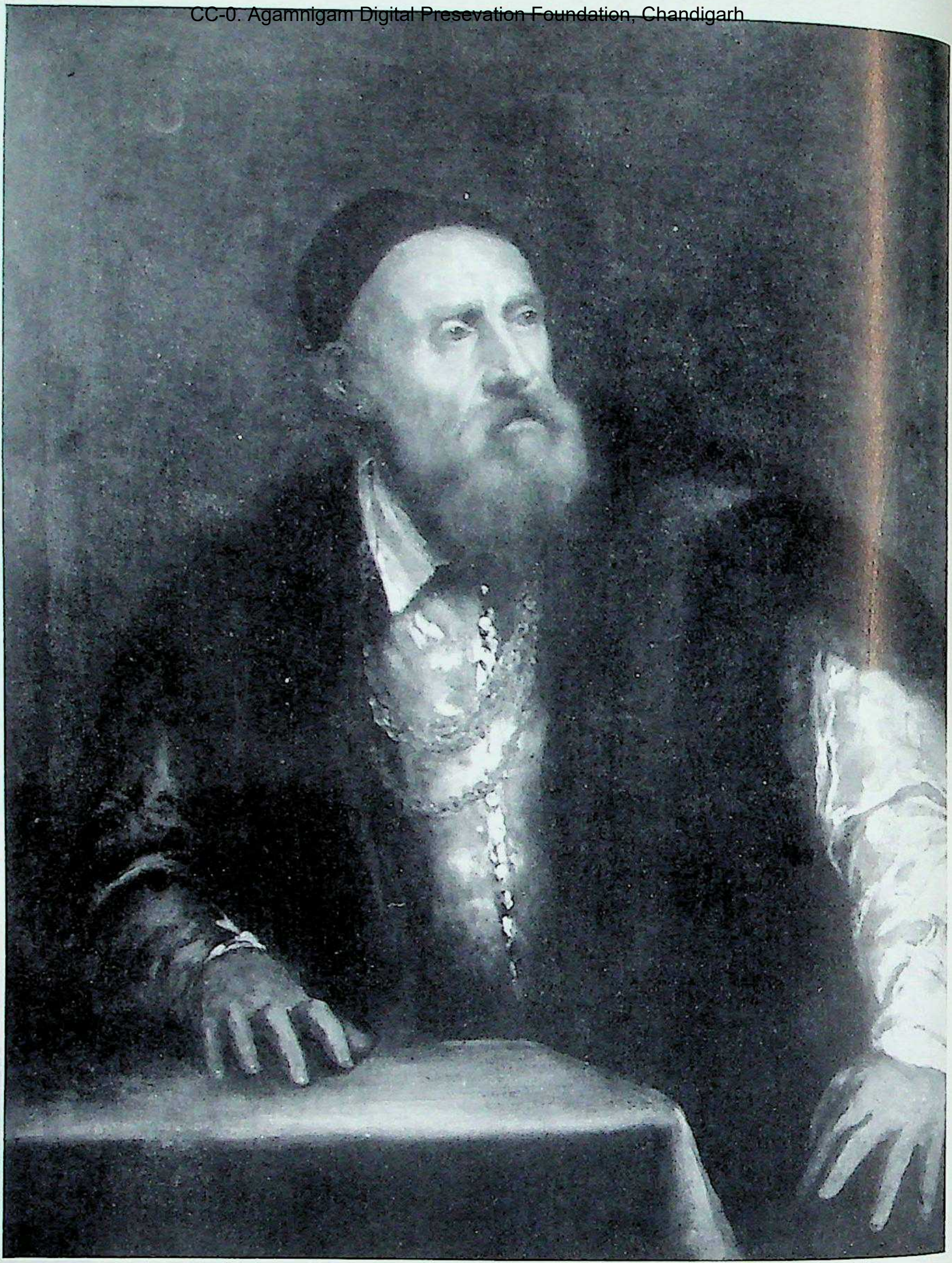
This final technique of the octogenarian Titian, a summary style of grainy composite colour, where forms fall into shape only when seen from a distance, can be studied in a fragment representing a
217 *Boy in a Landscape*. The child in his smock of Venetian red, who clings to his big white mastiff, is said to be a young prince Serbelloni who was saved by the dogs from a burning castle shown in the middle distance. The picture divides into a clouded landscape, painted in stormy browns and dark blues, with a gleam of light on the square tower, blotchy and suffused, and the graphic foreground with the massive shapes of the child and his dogs. The magic of Titian's ripest style does not only lie in the conjuring up of heroic form, but in its easy confluence with the background, the perfect absorption of individual shapes by the vibrant atmosphere. The very density of pigment, chromatic scales of yellow, blue and green, a flaming synthesis of diffused colour and light, create the magical space. Expressionist colour transforms the formal beauty of the



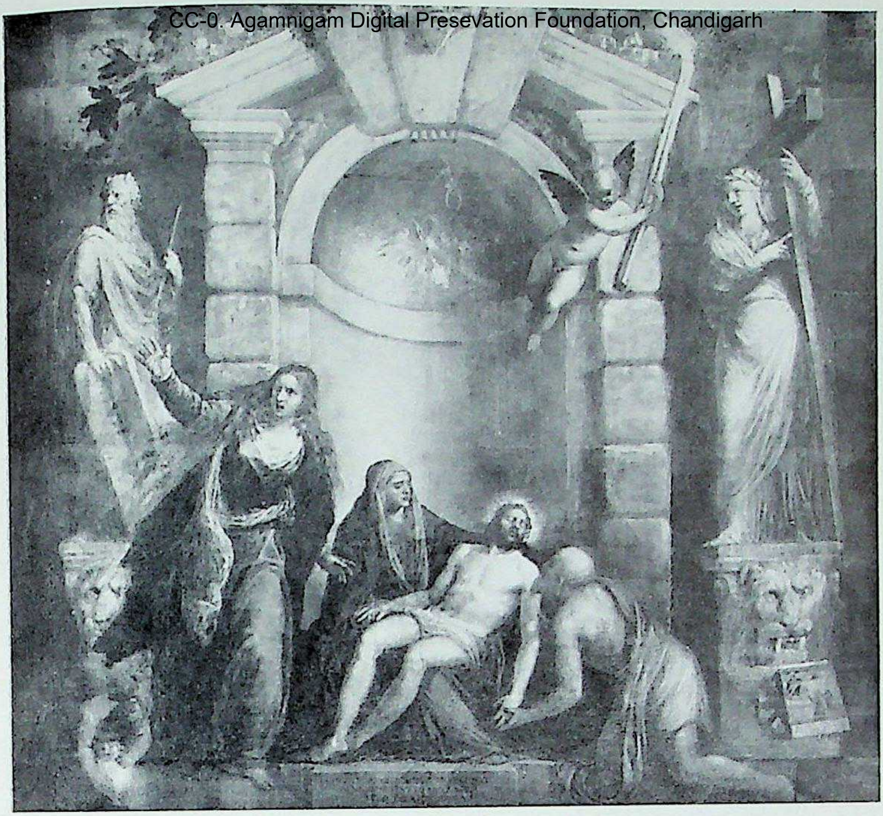
217. TITIAN. *Boy in a Landscape*. D. G. van Beuningen Collection (photo: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).

Renaissance, and a conflagration of light dissolves the darkness of the cosmic landscape.

In sixteenth century Venice Titian had been the representative artist, as Bellini was in the fifteenth. The detached vision which gave him the power to express the ideals and passions of his age is inscribed upon his own countenance. The Berlin *Self Portrait* is a 218 fragment. Painted mainly in monochrome with brilliant touches of pure white, the brown fur and background are relieved only by the triple chain of coral. The hands are merely sketched in, though their weight and volume, as that of the right arm—a lion's arm and paw—are apparent even in this most summary technique. But what human grandeur is expressed in the face, the imperious look, the great cavities of the eye, the lighted dome of the forehead with the prominent temples and brow! It is the face of a great ruler of men, rock like, a rugged form, commanding and marked by the fevers of creation. Whether looked at as expression of mind or as pictorial



218. TITIAN. *Self Portrait*. Berlin, Museum.



219. TITIAN. *Pietà.* Venice, Academy (photo: Anderson).

form, Titian's self portrait with its chiaroscuro, its sovereign use of colour, its simplification of form—the rectangular face, the spherical shoulder, the bold thrust into space—is a final act of self-revelation.

In his last works, the *Crowning with Thorns* and the Venice *Pietà,* Titian presents with disillusioned realism the tragic moments of Christ's Passion. In the *Pietà,* the Virgin holds the dead Body of 219 Christ upon her lap before a massive stone vault of Roman provenance—at once triumphal arch and altar of immolation. Magdalene with raised hands and parted lips, her hair dishevelled, her gaze distracted, seems to call others to the scene with wild lament. The violence of her movement, her moss-green robes flying, is heightened by the solemnity of the central group, the stillness of the Madonna in a dark blue mantle, the devotion of Joseph of Arimathaea, whose athletic form is half veiled in a rose coloured cloak. This poignant

Pietà is Titian's largest essay in monumental form, where cube, sphere and triangle frame and contain the superhuman statuary. The expression of human suffering is gone from Christ's countenance; the tormented eyes are closed for ever; humbled, broken and brutalised the pallid flesh has succumbed to the resistance of the hostile world, and an aura of light around His head tells against the grey monochrome of the cyclopic wall. With this work of tragic grandeur, simplicity and power the octogenarian Titian lays down his brush.

XXIX. THE PAINTERS OF BERGAMO AND OF BRESCIA.

Lotto — Dossi — Savoldo — Romanino — Moretto — Moroni.

LOTTO: a Correggio in Venice; rapturous movement and transparent colour supported by restless light. Pre-Baroque exaltation. Intensity of feeling and formal elegance; flower-like grace. Consciousness of human personality in his psychological portraits. Around 1530 a Titianesque phase; greater breadth, richer impasto.
SAVOLDO: Giorgionesque fantasy, but cool colours and luministic contrasts. Landscape as dark foil for brilliant figures.
MORETTO: Aristocratic portraits; romantic, yearning, lyrical. Lotto influence. Breadth of modelling; harmonies of black and grey.
MORONI: The only mere portrait painter in North Italy. Impeccable draughtsman; subtle psychologist; no idealiser of his bourgeois sitters in domestic surround.

The only painter who challenged Titian's 'impersonal grasp of the world' and his triumphant expression of religious certainty by an almost northern inwardness and ecstatic fervour, was LORENZO LOTTO, a native of Bergamo. He was born around 1480, and through his master Alvise Vivarini became a pupil of the Bellini School. His early altarpieces and half-length figures of the Madonna and Saints still have the upright stiffness and immobility of the Quattrocento, but lightened by a tender humanity, a gem-like purity of colour and a restlessness of effects of light. Among his formative influences, apart from Titian and Giorgione, were the sumptuous and arcadian Palma Vecchio and some northern master like Dürer who visited Venice in 1506. After his early years, spent in Treviso, Lotto made his pilgrimage to Rome (1509) and there was attracted by Raphael rather than Michelangelo, but in 1513 he was recalled to Bergamo by Alessandro Martinengo and in the following years painted his three great altarpieces for Bergamasque churches, in

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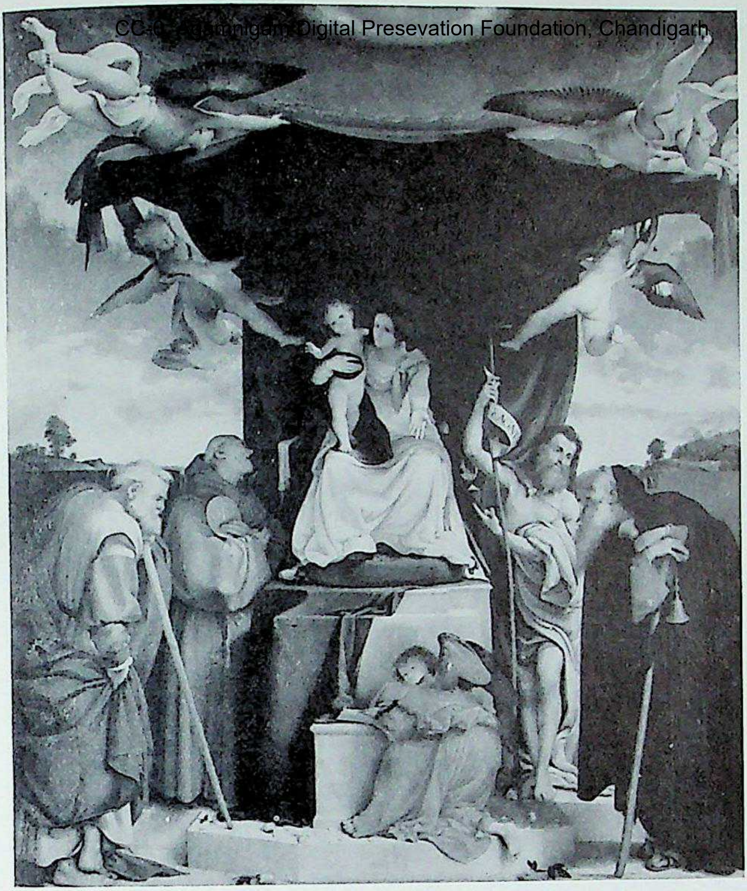
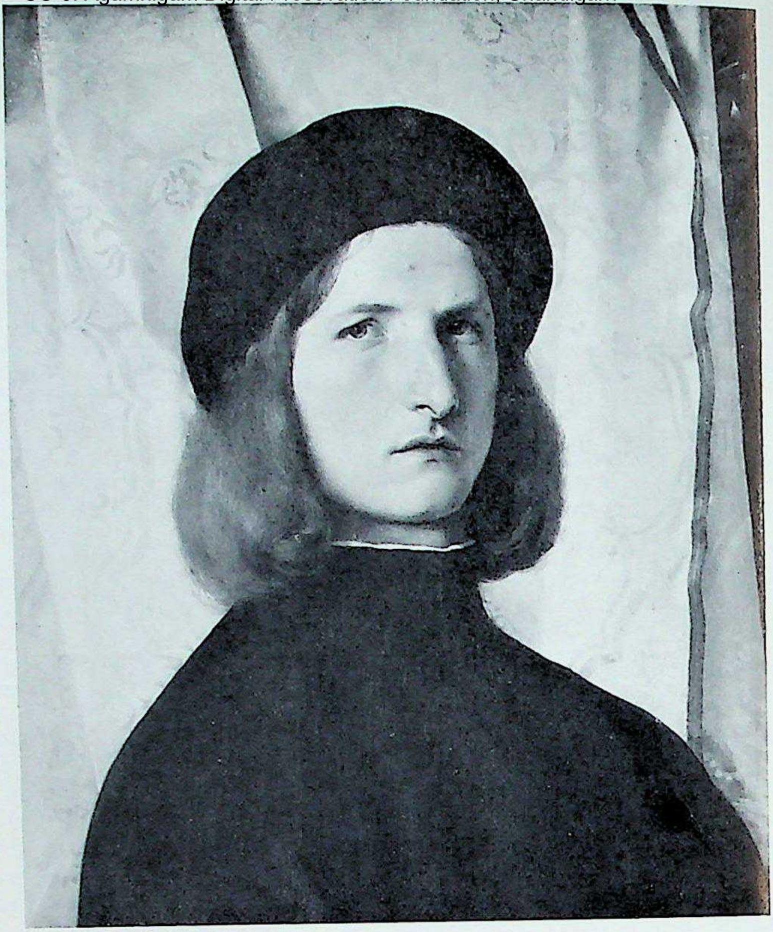


220. LORENZO LOTTO. *Madonna and Child with Saints.* Bergamo, San Bernardino (photo: Courtesy Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, Bergamo).

which he found his own most personal style. His sense of beauty and grace, his rapturous movement and cool colour likens him to Correggio, whose work, though contemporary, was probably unknown to him.

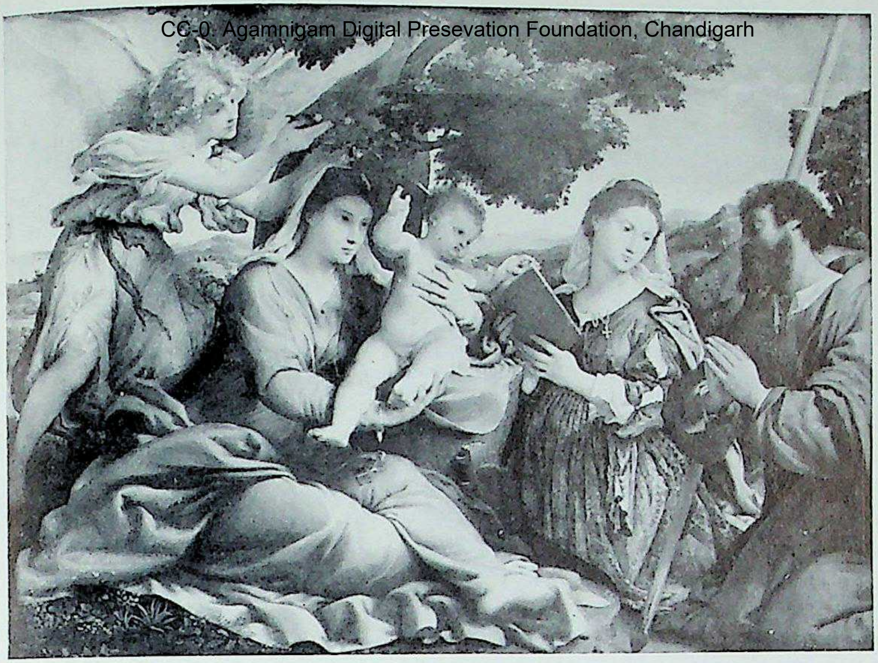
The San Bernardino altarpiece of the *Madonna and Child with Saints* (1521) is anti-Classical and anti-Renaissance by dint of the 220 exuberant angels who spread a dark-green canopy over the Virgin's throne. These figures hold up the tent-like curtain in a refulgent movement of their foreshortened bodies; the daring tumult of shining limbs tossed in all directions, have their analogy in the joyous whirl of Correggio's angels in the Cathedral of Parma. The same fervour informs the old bearded Saints below, S. Anthony Abbot



221. LORENZO LOTTO. *Portrait of a Young Man.* Vienna, Museum (photo: Courtesy Arts Council of Gt. Britain).

with his bell, leaning forward upon his staff, and the ecstatic S. Bernardino. The youthful Madonna, dark-eyed and eloquent, expounds with demonstrative gesture the mystery of the Child to the weighty Saints below and to the beautiful angel who at the foot of the throne writes down her words in an open book. The suppleness of all forms, the transparent colours, the tempestuous movement of the angels foreshadow the seventeenth century Baroque, but the yearning Saints, the lyrical earnestness of the Madonna betray a deepening of religious feeling which transforms the archaic altarpiece of the past into a work of rhythmical ecstasy.

Lotto's modernity is even more conspicuous in the expression of mood and individual character with which he endows his portraits.



222. LORENZO LOTTO. *Sacra Conversazione*. Vienna, Museum (photo: Courtesy Arts Council of Gt. Britain).

He has a profound consciousness of human personality. The *Portrait of a Young Man* in the Vienna Museum offers an example of human 221 interpretation. 'There is an unsure, inquiring look in this face with its vibrating nostrils, deep-set thoughtful eyes and quivering mouth' wrote Bernard Berenson who saw the novelty of Lotto's portraiture in contrast to that of Titian, in the effort to convey 'not only what the sitter is, but what he feels.' The beauty of the portrait resides not only in the stern penetrating look of the youth, but in the contrast between the luminous planes of his sensitive face, framed by the silky mass of hair, and the pearly white of the damask curtain.

In his Madonnas and Saints Lotto attains an intensity of feeling and formal elegance, a grace and feminine beauty which are expressed in vibrant line and rarefied colour. The *Sacra Conversazione* 222 is composed in the manner of Palma Vecchio, but the litheness of the figures, and affectionate humanity are Lotto's own. The solidity of the figures is made transparent by the coolness of colour and light, the pale blue of the Madonna's robe, the golden green of S. Catherine's pleated dress and the purple grey of the angel. The Madonna is the same as in the San Bernardino altarpiece, and the

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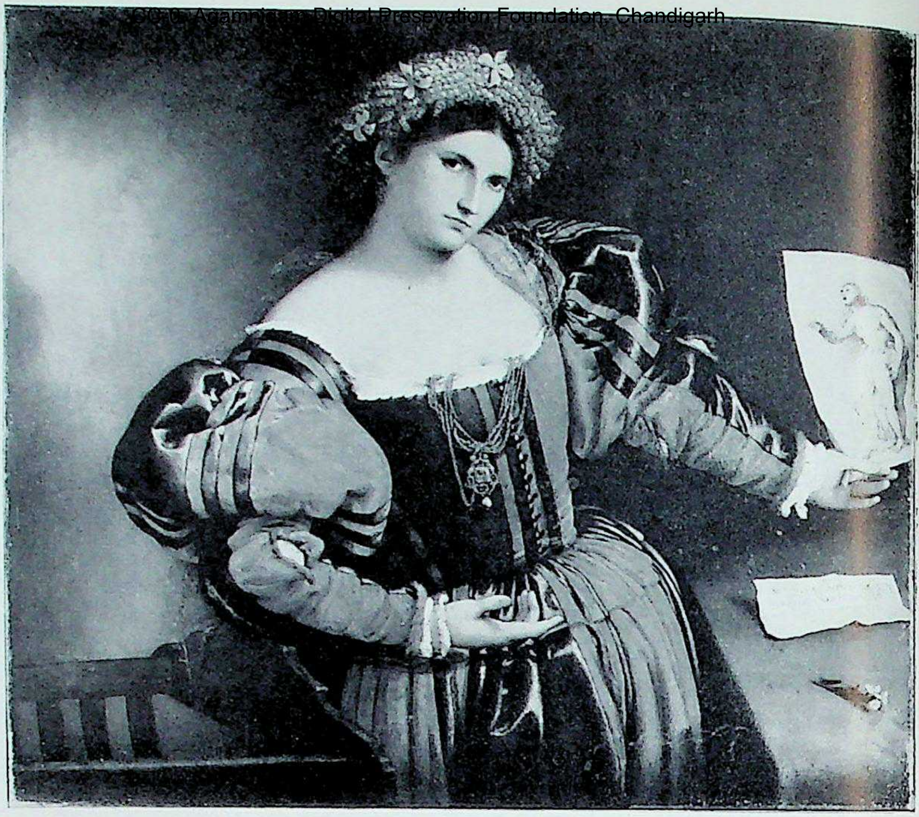
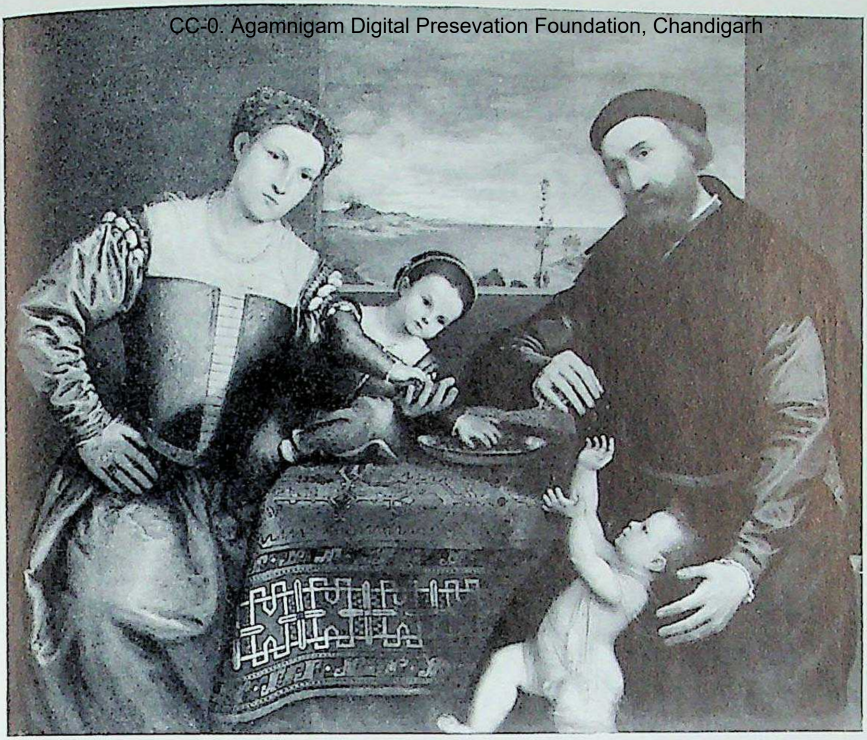


223. LORENZO LOTTO. *Lucretia*. London, National Gallery (photo: National Gallery).

golden haired angel, himself of languid and flower-like grace, holds a wreath of blossom over her head. S. Catherine turns away from the Child who clasps the pages of her book, and forms a link between the kneeling S. James and the Madonna. A great spreading oak with thick foliage shelters the holy personages before a landscape of blue foothills in the diaphanous light of summer.

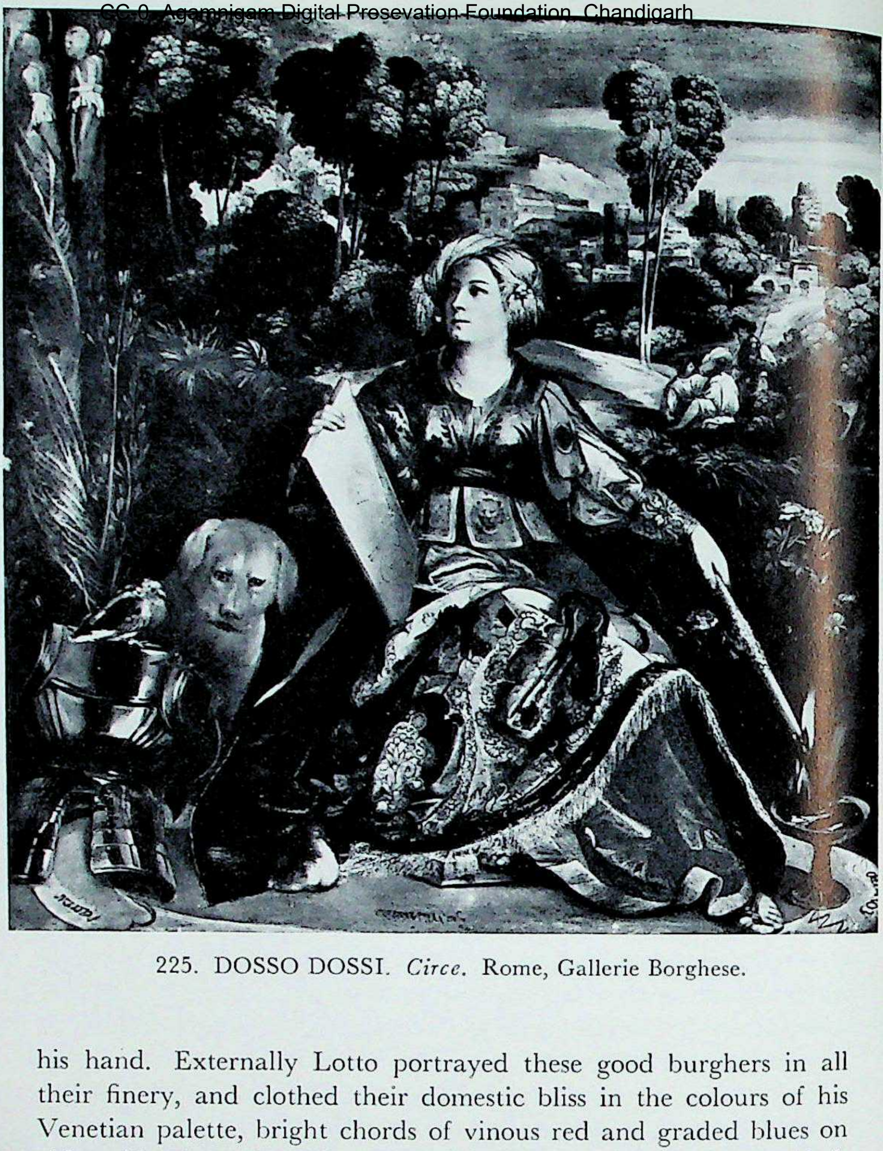
Around 1530 Lotto appears to have been closest to Titian, and the works of this period reveal a richer impasto, a bolder fusion of tones and a greater breadth of composition. The Portrait of the *Sculptor Odoni* at Hampton Court and the so-called *Lucretia* in the National Gallery illustrate this phase. The ample Venetian form of
223 Lucretia in the sumptuous dress, where russet is heightened by the olive green of the puffed sleeve, is strangely poised between chair and table. As her body leans back to reveal the noble line of the neck, so her head and arms restore the balance of contrasting movements, which her self-conscious gaze out of the picture diverts again



224. LORENZO LOTTO. *Family Group.* London, National Gallery (photo: National Gallery).

to the lady's self. Light constructs mass and volume of the figure with fleeting shadows upon the flesh and the opalescent silk in the golden grey ambience. Among Lotto's portraits *Lucretia* approximates closest to the Venetian beauties of Titian, and is his finest achievement in breadth and elegance and in the delicate fusion of light and of tone.

The London *Family Group* of Lotto's landlord, his wife and two 224 children is not only a sumptuous portrait of a bourgeois family in rich Venetian costume, but a genre scene of domestic intimacy and psychological innuendo. Beneath a window with a large expanse of sea and sky, lit up on the horizon, the husband and wife are sitting for their portraits. The young mother in a dress of Venetian red, well modelled bodice and rich jewels, looks out earnestly and almost sullenly, while her little daughter in a long blue robe has climbed upon the table to help herself to some cherries. Her husband opposite, wearing black over paler blue, looks more kindly though a little resigned, while the smaller child strains after the cherries in



225. DOSSO DOSSI. *Circe.* Rome, Gallerie Borghese.

his hand. Externally Lotto portrayed these good burghers in all their finery, and clothed their domestic bliss in the colours of his Venetian palette, bright chords of vinous red and graded blues on either side of the Turkish carpet, with the grey blue seascape behind. But the inner life of the portrait lies in the contrast between the cool, limited and still pretty wife and the warmer and more melancholy husband, who is no Adonis but who inspires more sympathy.

Another master who grew up close enough to the Venetians to be deeply affected by Giorgione's fancy and Titian's colour was DOSSO DOSSI, court painter of Ferrara at the time of Alfonso d'Este. His romantic spirit was allied to a feeling for magic light and gorgeous colour, and his favourite subject was the enchantress *Circe and her*

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Lovers, transfixed into animal shapes in a landscape of sulphurous lights and exotic trees. In Dosso the poetry of Giorgione and the Bacchic elements of Titian assume a fantastic licence which is nearer to the Arabian Nights than to Classical mythology. His imagination ranges freely over a world of high romance, where the nude enchantress with her magic scroll holds stag and dog and parrot—her transformed lovers—listening spellbound at her feet.

In the other *Circe* at the Borghese Gallery she is a grand and 225
bewitching sybil in a sumptuous costume of deep crimson and opalescent green, ruling the enchanted world around her with the magic of her glance and of her word. Behind her dreams a landscape of glades and feathery trees, where Giorgionesque lovers recline and to which incandescent lights lend real magic. 'Before her we lose ourselves in a magic of strange lights and mysterious colours which make us sink deeper and deeper into a world which is as entrancing as it is far away' (Berenson). Nowhere in the wake of Giorgione has the romantic spirit, liberated from all bonds of reality, indulged in such triumphs of the imagination as in Dossi's poetic incantations.

GIROLAMO SAVOLDO—like Lorenzo Lotto—worked at the fringe of the Venetian metropolis. Born at Brescia, the twin city of Bergamo at the foothill of the Alps, he was formed by Lombard as well as Venetian influences. He is Giorgionesque by the fantastic quality of his invention, his romantic landscapes, his mysterious light, but he differs from the great Venetians by his use of cool colour, his chiaroscuro, his search after luministic effects. The half figure of
Mary Magdalene approaching the Sepulchre is an epitome of his 226
highly original art. Her peasant face is half veiled and shaded by the cloak of silvery grey which sparkles in the moonlight. Opalescent colour creates the form as well as the silky sheen of the robe, with its glittering creases and structural folds. The silvery light lends mystery to the figure which is foiled by the nocturnal background of dark blue sky and water under the purple clouds of the sunset. For formal invention, luministic contrasts, and breadth of design Savoldo's *Magdalene* is an unforgettable creation.

No less original is the *Tobias and the Angel,* a late work of the 227
master. Here the figures are less solid, the folds more mannered and restless, the light even more brilliant. Other than in the Giorgionesque paintings, Savoldo's figures do not merge into the landscape, which is a mere foil to detach them more vividly in their intensely luminous quality. As Tobias kneels down by the water's edge, the Angel, borne by his great bird's-feather wings painted in liquid

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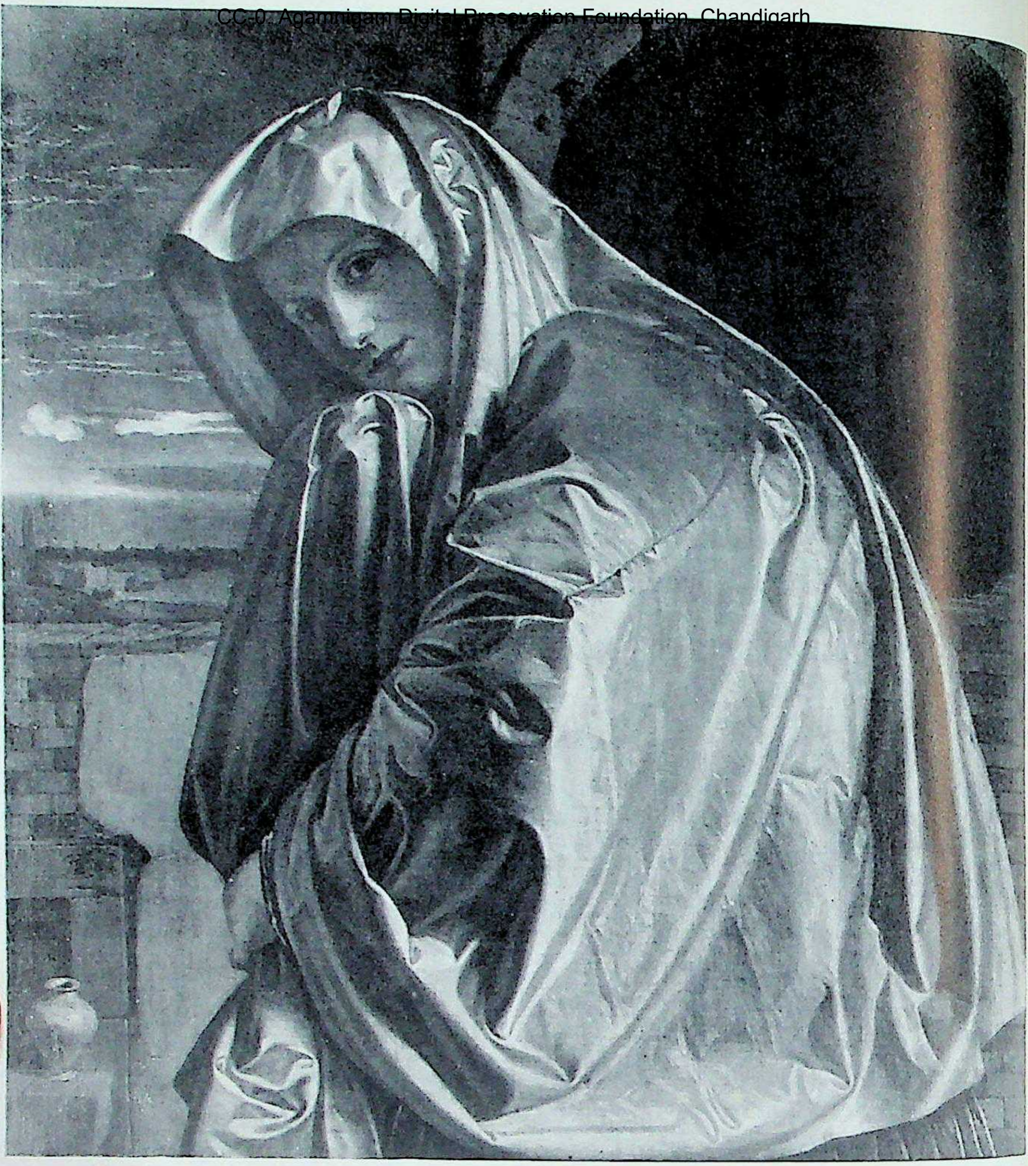

226. GIROLAMO SAVOLDO. *Mary Magdalene approaching the Sepulchre.* London, National Gallery (photo: National Gallery).

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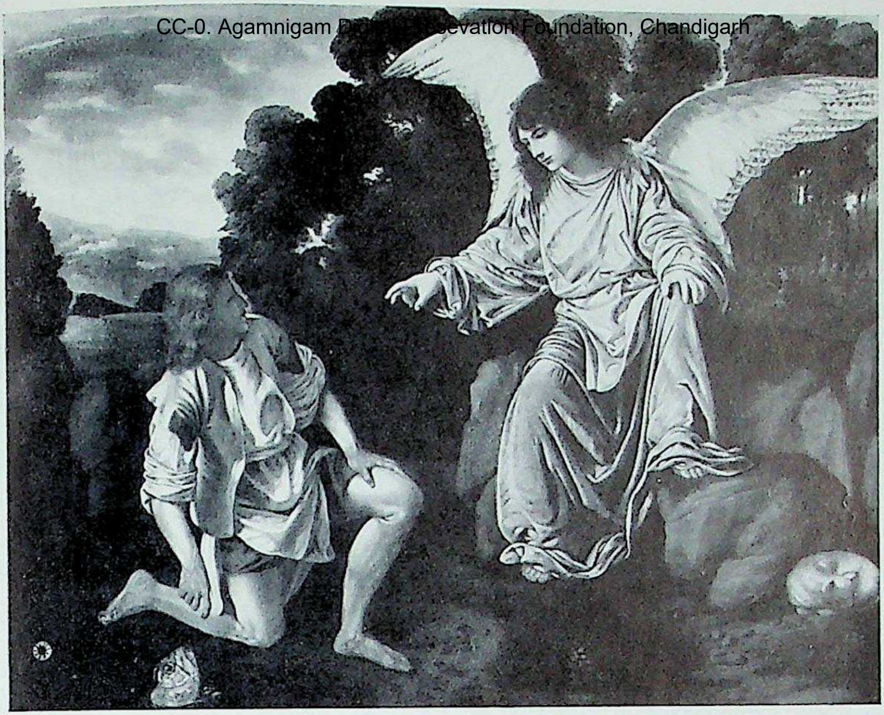
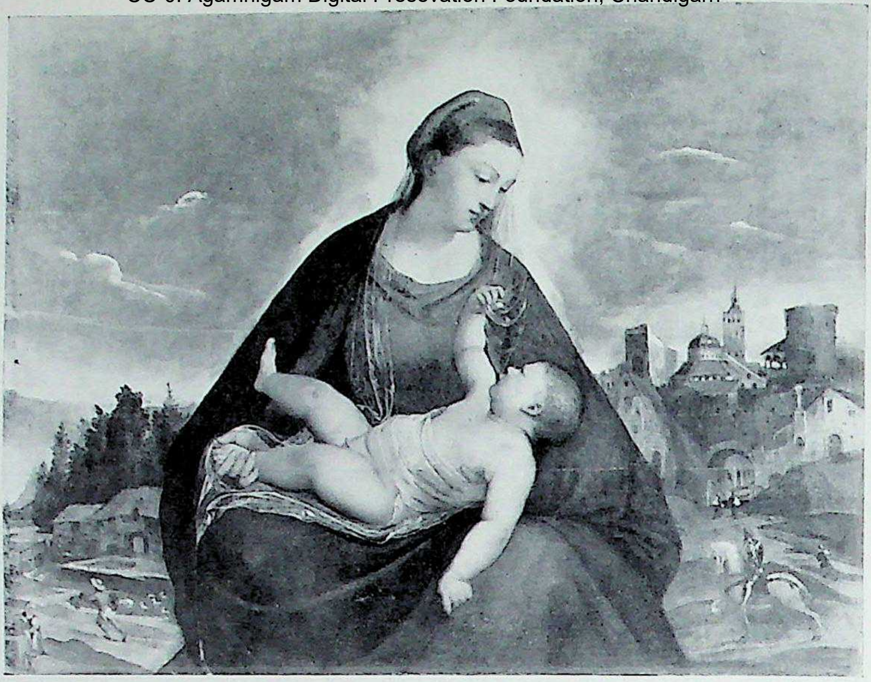


227. GIROLAMO SAVOLDO. *Tobias and the Angel.* Rome, Galleria Borghese (photo: Anderson).

silver, alights upon the rock. The head of Tobias is darkly shaded, as he listens to the Angel whose face gathers the light. The subtle lace-work of trees is not a solid impenetrable mass as in Venetian painting; it serves as a 'screen' for the sparkling splendour of blazing colours—the slate blue and rose and golden orange of the two figures. Thus Savoldo attains his fanciful effects by the fluency of his colours in a chiaroscuro background, the opposition of the greatest light and the deepest shadow.

The painters of Brescia excel in the portrait genre, with the exception of ROMANINO who painted large Titianesque altarpieces and frescoes for provincial churches. His Palas have breadth and amplitude of form and a boldness and fluency of colouring which show his Venetian upbringing. These qualities combine in the London *Madonna and Child* with a Giorgionesque background of Impres- 228
sionist swiftness and brilliance. The great blue pyramid of the peasant Madonna, ringed by an aura of light, is foiled by the intense blueness of sky, and the spaciousness of her bodily form



228. GIROLAMO ROMANINO. *Madonna and Child.* London, National Gallery (photo: National Gallery).

results from the perspective of graded blues in the 'steady glory of broad Italian noonday.' Such breadth of figurative design is allied to a Giorgionesque intimacy of the surround, the duck pond and farmhouse with rustic figures, and the armed horseman outside the city gate. The swift notations of colour and light, the blue cupola and grey spires, the silvery white crescent of the old city wall, the long triangular roofs, punctuated by shafts of light, have a nervous sensibility of the brush and a freshness of momentary vision unique in the sixteenth century.

Moretto and his pupil Moroni continue Lotto's tradition of the psychological portrait, the former with a romantic lassitude of expression in his aristocratic models, the other, a naturalist, who combines directness of observation with significant pose and surrounding. MORETTO's portraits, like that of *Count Sciarra Marti-*
229 *nengo Cesaresco* reveal a monumental placidity of the sitter, a romantic yearning, a poetic contemplation. The pose is pensive and grave, a moment of relaxation and weariness, matched by the breadth of modelling, the richness of stuffs, of blue velvet and ermine before the red and gold curtain. Elsewhere Moretto aspires

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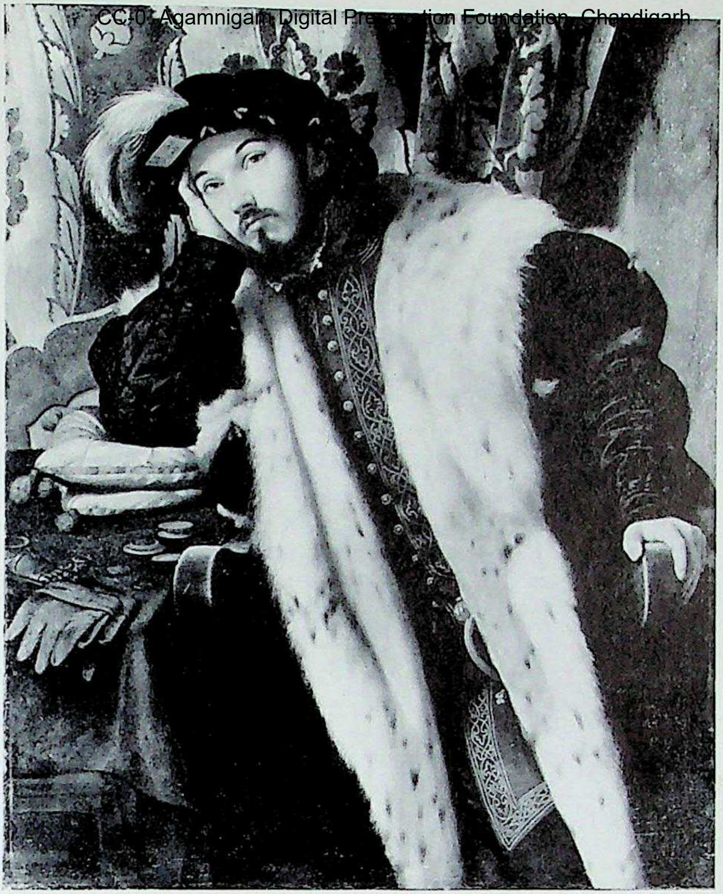
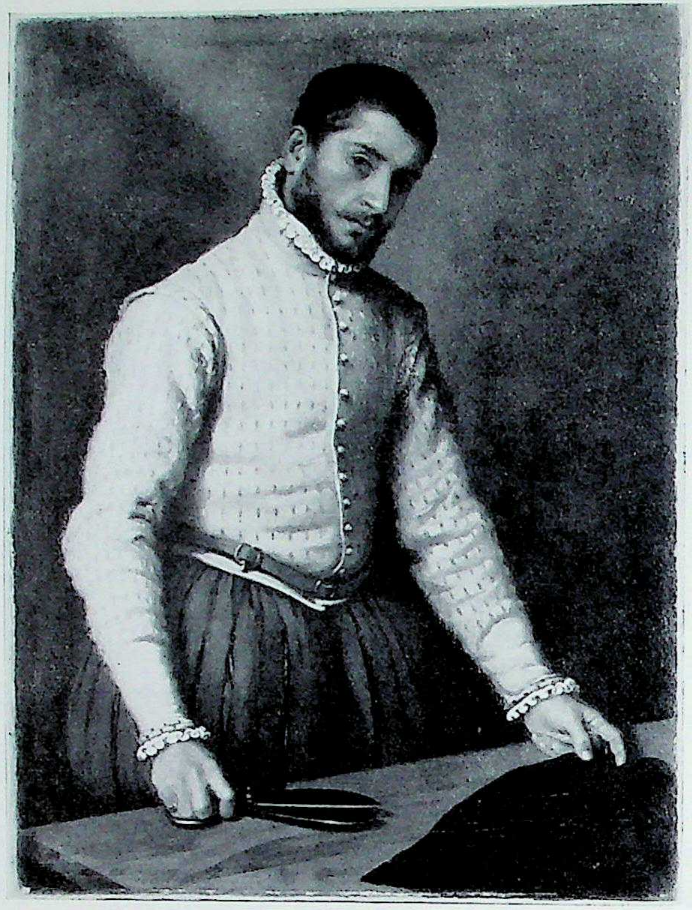


229. ALESSANDRO MORETTO. *Count Sciarra Martinengo Cesaresco.* London, National Gallery (photo: National Gallery).

to Velazquez-like harmonies of blacks and silvery grey, a subtle economy of light, which models form in the mellow atmosphere, in which his sitters stand or move with princely ease.

If Moretto is humane and lyrical, his pupil MORONI is a realist. His best work, like the *Portrait of a Tailor*, is of impeccable draughtsmanship in the significant action and attitude of the man. To the sentimental abandon of Moretto's sitters he opposes a directness of characterisation and verisimilitude, unique in Italian portraiture. He combines Lotto's subtlety of psychological interpretation with Moretto's cool and hazy colours. The *Tailor* is a harmony of greyish yellow and dull red, heightened by the sparkling light upon the 230



230. GIOVANNI BATTISTA MORONI. *Portrait of a Tailor.* London, National Gallery (photo: National Gallery).

doublet, and fused with the greenish grey background. Moroni does not embellish, is not rhetorical. He paints the sitter and his surroundings, the knights of Bergamo with plumed hat and sword, the local squires in all their finery, or the professional men, schoolmaster, lawyer, tailor, wistful, limited, life-like. Titian commended Moroni's portraits, *che gli faceva naturale,* which is to say that he had an eye for the psychological secret of his bourgeois sitters, and that he knew how to paint human type and station with the utmost veracity.

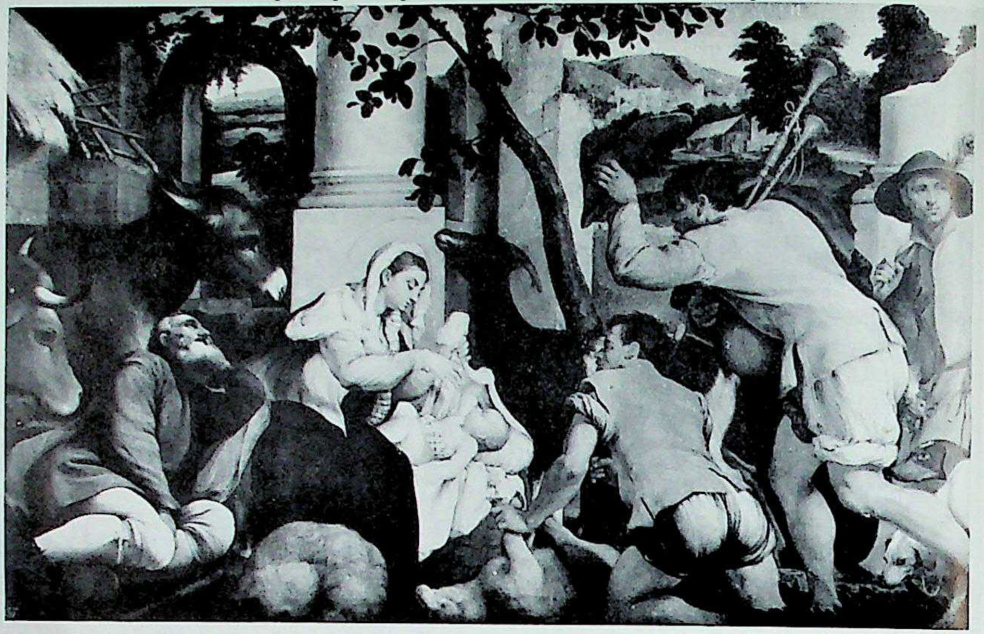
XXX. COLOUR CONSTRUCTS FORM.

Jacopo Bassano.

Painter of rustic genre and Biblical scenes. At first he employs clearly defined zones of sparkling colour and a mobile linearism of figures, set off by chiaroscuro. His colours are of exceptional glow and southern intensity. After 1560 his contours lose their incisiveness and become fused with the atmosphere. He develops the ripest painterly style of Venice, where modelling with the brush is merely a change of tone and of light. Human and animal shapes are embedded in the twilight of a luxuriant landscape. His elastic and sinuous figures, influenced by contemporary Mannerism, retain a measure of naturalism, even in his fantastical nocturnes.

But the greatest provincial master of the Veneto, who developed apart from the mainstream of figurative art at Venice, was JACOPO BASSANO. Born in 1510, the year of Giorgione's death, in the little mountain town that figures in so many of his canvases, and from which he took his name, Jacopo da Ponte ran the whole course of the Cinquecento and died in 1592, two years before Tintoretto who had so strongly coloured the last phase of his style. He had come to Venice as a young man of twenty-five, and there attached himself to Bonifazio's studio. By 1540, he appears to be settled for good in Bassano. And now there issued from his workshop that rich harvest of religious genre and pastoral, Nativities and Adorations and Good Samaritans, that homely blend of Biblical story and local lore of the Bassanese, of peasants and their flocks among the foothills of the Venetian hinterland. A painter of his versatility would by necessity absorb the best that other masters had already achieved : Titian's composite colour, the Mannerist forms of Parmigianino, and the heroic vastness of Tintoretto.

The surprising fact about Jacopo Bassano is not that he paints the countryside, or that he introduces idyllic genre and pastoral into the heroic trend of the sixteenth century, or that his colour is jewel-like, but that he develops from a linear beginning to the richest pictorial expressionism, where colour begins to compose and to construct form. Verci, a seventeenth century writer, wrote about Jacopo : 'Leaving detailed finish alone, Bassano employed only massive brush strokes, freely and well placed, with warm and luminous tints, and is all truth, nature and pictorial fire, full of cunning, where the figures stand out in full relief from the canvas. Viewed from nearby, his paintings appear an indistinguishable confusion of colours, but from

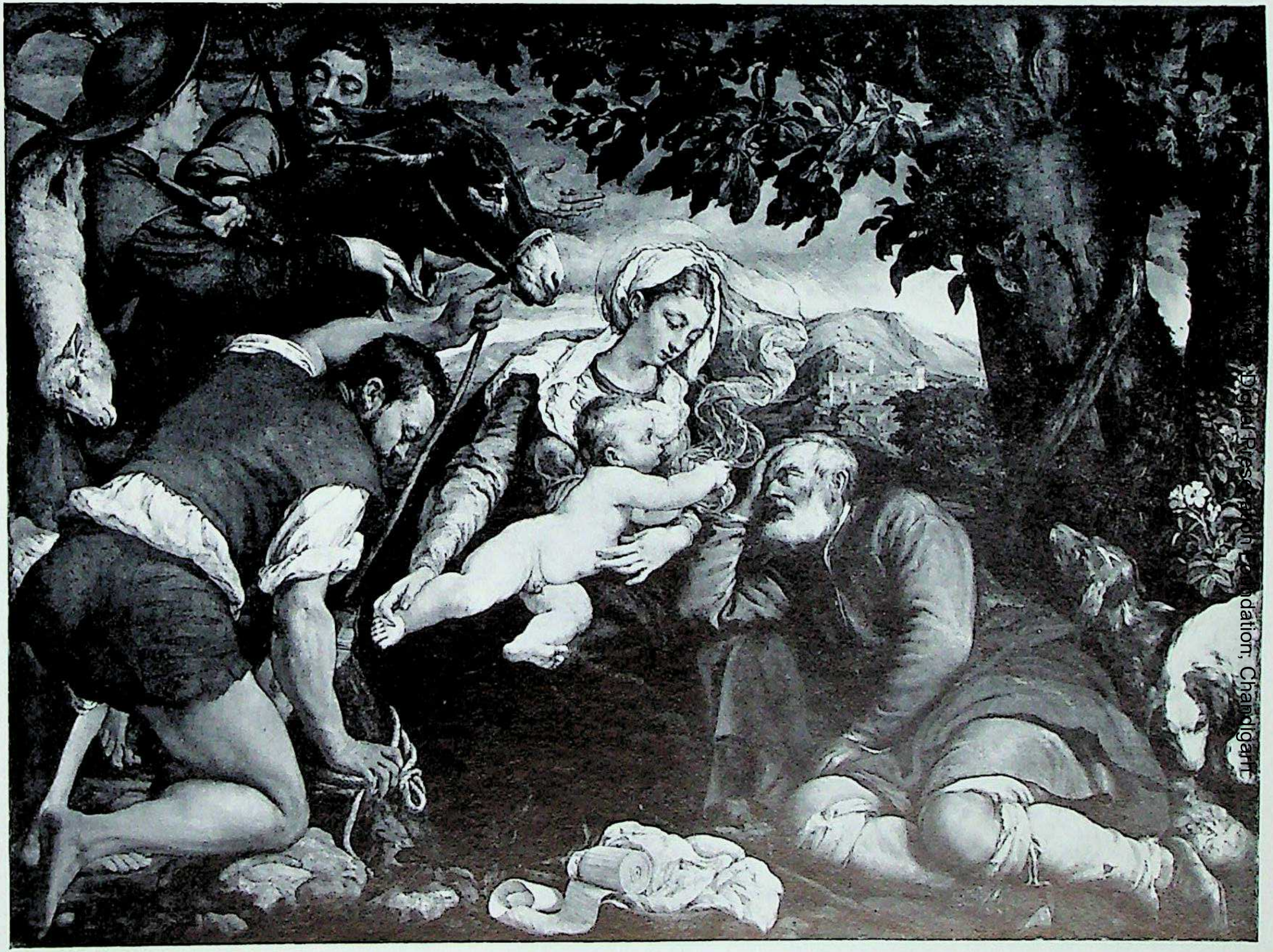


231. BASSANO. *Adoration of the Shepherds.* Hampton Court Palace (photo: By gracious permission of Her Majesty the Queen).

the right distance they make that stupendous effect to which his masterly art and intelligence inspired him.'

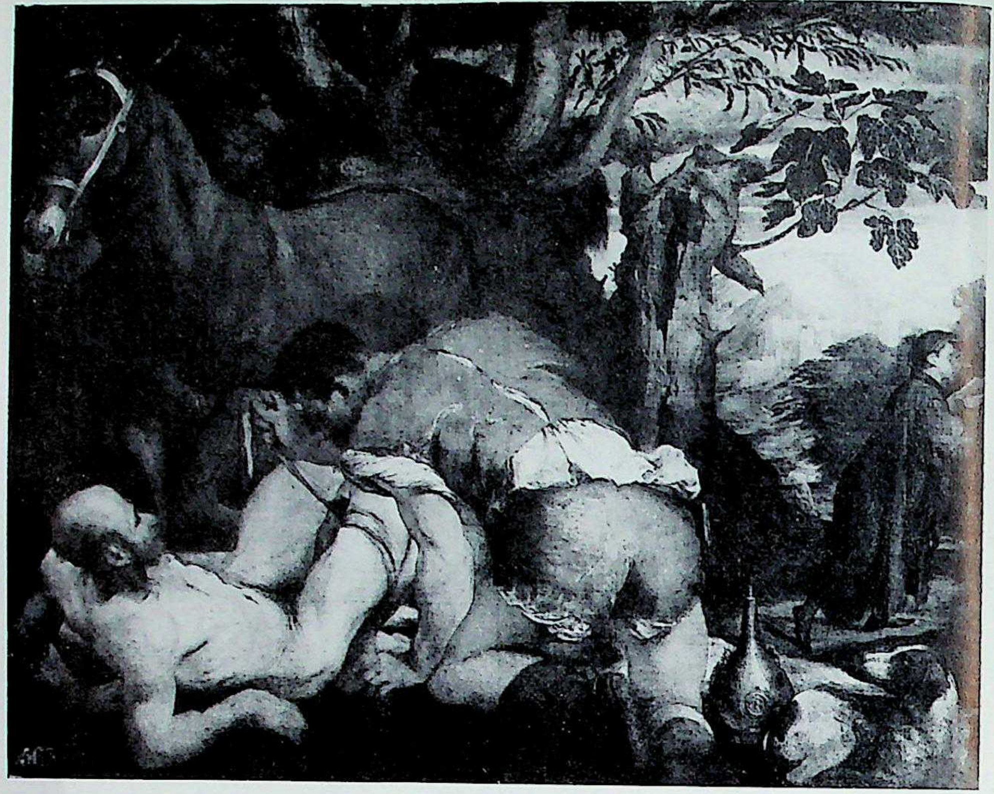
231 The Hampton Court *Adoration of the Shepherds* is a significant work of Bassano's early style, where sparkling colour and linear movement convey the rustic poetry of his favourite subject. In front of sombre arch and lit-up column, in full view of the landscape around Bassano with the Montagna del Grappa and the little township perched on the bluish hills, the Holy Family has come to rest. The light brown tints of the masonry are a foil for the dark foliage of the fig tree, and for the rose-streaked blue of the sky. But the main fascination rests in the contrast of luminous colour and the dark shaded passages of the picture: the pale buff of Joseph's coat, the purplish red of the Madonna, the orange brown smocks and blue hose of the shepherds and the reddish glow of the flesh; stored sunlight of the Veneto. The sinuous shapes and slender proportions of the figures, their rhythmical movement and correspondence illustrate this stage of Bassano's work.

232 Bassano's middle-period culminates in the *Rest on the Flight to Egypt* at the Ambrosiana. Elements of the *Adoration* at Hampton Court have been unified into a balanced masterpiece. The kneeling



232. BASSANO.
Rest on the Flight to Egypt. Milan, Ambrosiana
(photo: Anderson).

Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh



233. BASSANO. *The Good Samaritan.* Hampton Court Palace (photo: By gracious permission of Her Majesty the Queen).

shepherd and the recumbent S. Joseph are borrowings from the earlier pictures. But now the linear design is more concentrated, the compact figures are gathered beneath the diagonal which descends from the two young shepherds to the exquisite dogs, and the upper half is left free for the familiar landscape of the Bassanese. The balance is restored by the mighty tree which spreads its juicy leaves across the azure sky. The great curving figures on either side of the Madonna, the lively Child who strains after the veil fluttering in the breeze, and the splendid shepherds coming in from the left are great zones of luminous colour in the mosaic of the design. Colour of exceptional brilliance reverberates in deep chords of moss green and cherry red and chestnut, individual tints laid on without chiaroscuro. By the instinctive contrast of warm and cold hues, confined within the vigorous contours of his figures, Bassano is on the way to becoming the greatest colourist of the Venetian School.

234. BASSANO. *Adoration of the Kings.* Vienna, Museum.

Contours begin to lose their incisiveness, lines soften, drawing becomes suffused in colour in *The Good Samaritan* at Hampton Court. 233 Between 1540 and 1560 Bassano discovers that the brush will draw, that tints graded by light will yield greater depth and atmosphere than linear confines of colour. The main impression in this picture is that of the deep glowing russet of the Samaritan, burning with an interior fire, where the flesh tints are only a shade lighter than the man's doublet and hose. All the modelling is now merely a change of tone and of light, a twist of the brush, as in the brilliant tracery of the man's shirt.

This furnace of colour is made more prominent by the darker hues of the background. The placid ass, the mound, the trunks, are all shades of lighter and darker brown. Light grades the colour of the stump with its single branch of dark green leafage thrown across the turquoise blue of the sky. This shady grove, from which the Levite escapes with his book, is set against an airy distance, where the town of Bassano is lightly sketched in the hazy whiteness of its buildings and turrets.

235. BASSANO. *Landscape with Shepherds.* Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum (photo: Fitzwilliam Museum).

When in 1560 Jacopo da Ponte painted yet another *Adoration of* 234 *the Kings,* he had reached supreme mastery in the handling of pure and rarefied colour. A transformation had taken place in his approach to painting, a return to an extreme linear clarity of design and a Mannerist lengthening of the human form as in El Greco and Parmigianino, combined with a gorgeous scale of colour, of moss green, rose and gold, and luminous blue. A curious sophistication of all forms attracted Bassano for a time, and this precious design with its towering horses of nervous elegance, its oversized modish figures with their conspicuously small heads, their precious robes, their sinuous movements, is his contribution to the style of Mannerism.

During the last twenty years of his life Bassano had evolved that pictorial manner which placed him beside El Greco and Tintoretto. He saw the rustic world around him not as a mosaic of neatly defined objects, but as a unified whole, related by rich composite colour, now subdued, now blazing from the enveloping chiaroscuro of his luxuriant landscape. *Jacob's Journey* at Hampton Court and

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh 235

Landscape with Shepherds are supreme examples of Bassano's late nocturnes, where colour and design are conceived together, in the soft gleam of moonlight or sunset hues. All the brilliance is concentrated in the left half of the picture, in the pale lilac splendour of the graceful girl, where the brush modulates now with horizontal, now with vertical strokes the girl's bodice and skirt in the shimmering light. The painting of the boy with the significant forward slant of his body reveals the elastic and sinuous quality of Bassano's brush, which seems here to be dipped in liquid silver. The very movement of sheep and trees and men is enhanced by a prodigious colour harmony, where gold oranges gleam out of the turquoise blue of the distant dawn.

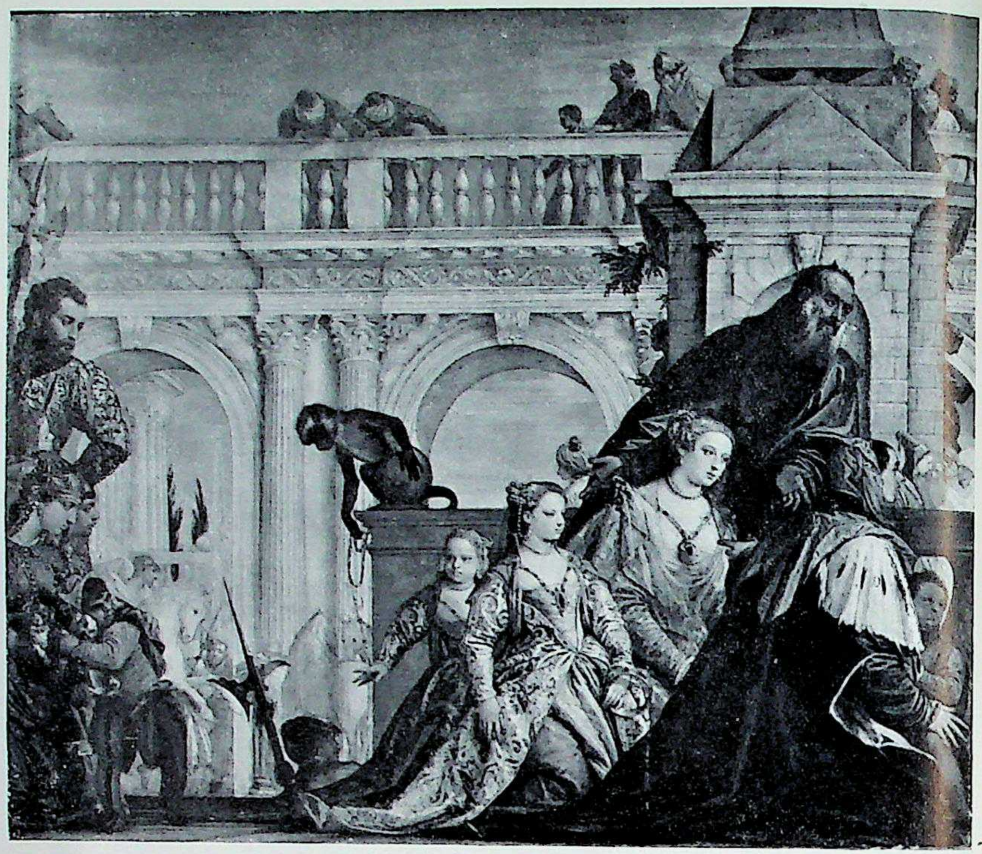
Bassano was perhaps the boldest colourist of the Venetian School, whose treatment of light and atmosphere aided the jewel-like accents of his colour. In painting patriarchal subjects in forms at once Mannerist and fantastic, he and Leandro his son and close follower, created the composite pictorial expressionism of Venice, which foreshadows the art of the seventeenth century.

XXXI. THE TRIUMPHANT CLOSE OF THE VENETIAN RENAISSANCE.

Paolo Veronese.

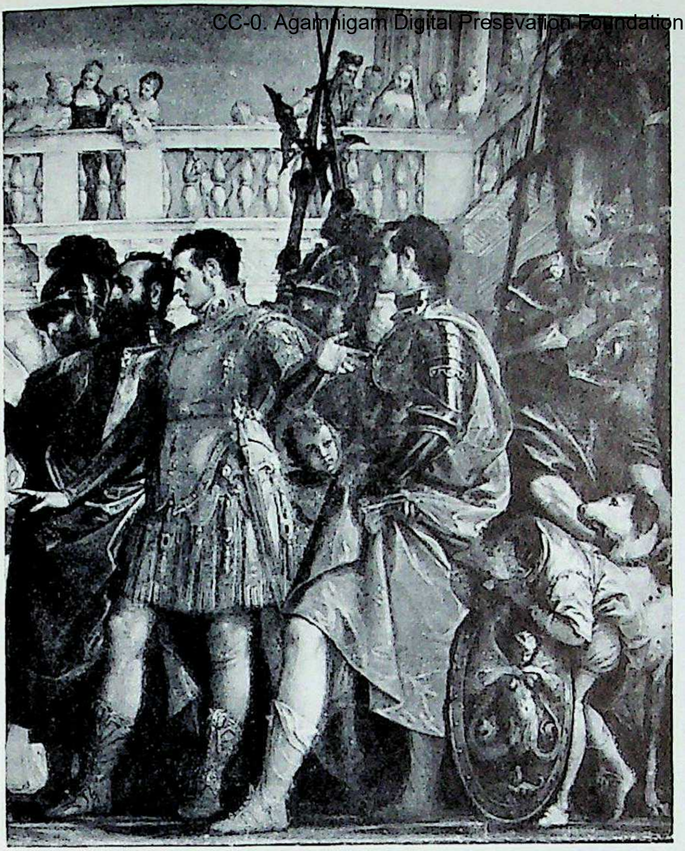
Classical balance of composition. Splendour of Venetian life in a setting of Palladian architecture. Monumental decorations. Aristocratic feasts and banquets. No drama, no spiritual depth. Rhetorical figure compositions in one foreground plane. Noble gestures, reserve, ceremonial. Opalescent colour and transparent shadows. Scenic idealisations of an opulent reality. Fullness of colour combined with fullness of light.

With PAOLO VERONESE the art of the Renaissance comes to a triumphant close. Veronese was a Classical artist who painted the festive life of Venice, a ceremonious world of great splendour, in a setting of Palladian architecture. For his monumental decorations he favoured the great banquets of Christian history, the Marriage Feast at Cana, or Christ in the House of Simon the Pharisee, where he glorifies the sumptuous life of the Venetian aristocracy, a princely society in their festive gatherings, in great marble halls with Classical arches and columns. The religious life in these vast decorative paintings has become externalised. The figures are massed in one plane



within the architectural order, in rhythmical groups, according to a contrast of lighted and shaded zones, in a harmony of opalescent colour. These are pictures of joyous existence, glorifying beauty, decorum, pomp and opulence. They are scenic and rhetorical idealisations of life.

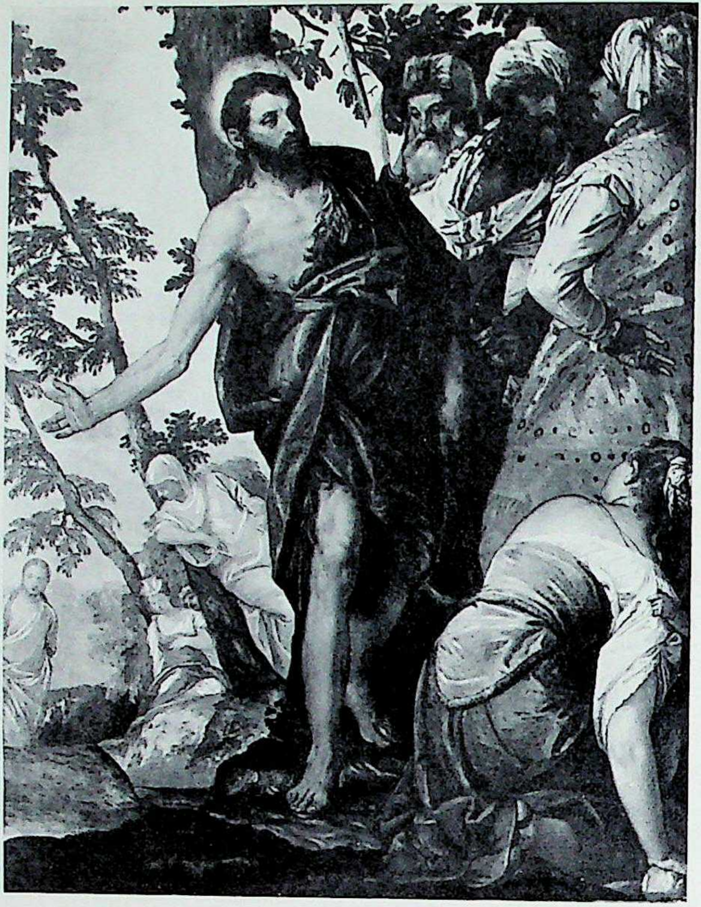
In front of a Venetian balustrade of grey marble the captive
236 *Family of Darius* is presented to Alexander who welcomes them amidst his generals. The decorative display in one horizontal plane is based upon the bold juxtaposition of complementary colours like the crimson of Alexander's robe between the deep gold and russet of his generals. The kneeling blond and roseate Venetian beauties robed in deep blue velvet and opalescent brocades, are not humbled in their pride. With such decorum a noble family would be received in audience by a king. The pageant of the scene is resolved in the



236. VERONESE. *Family of Darius before Alexander.* London, National Gallery (photo: National Gallery).

splendid accents of red and blue before the silvery white of the marble arcade. Each figure is linked to the other in contrapposto, and the fullness of colour combined with the fullness of light, without recession of space or atmospheric depth.

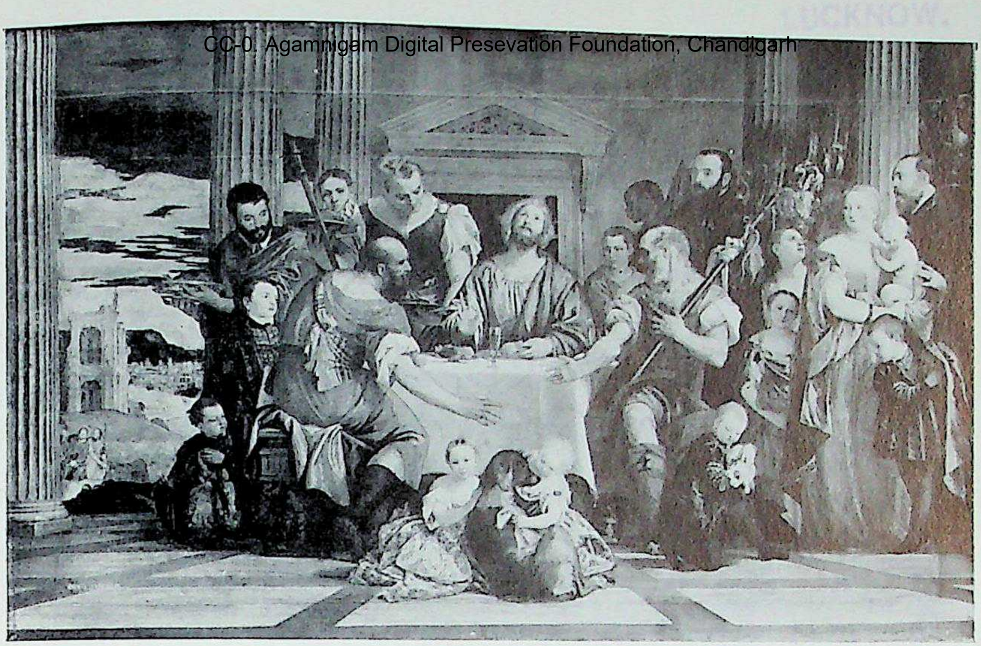
Veronese was born and bred in Verona. Before he became a true Venetian painter in 1555, he had absorbed the grey and silvery tones of Moretto, the Mannerist elegance of Parmigianino and the Michelangelesque schemes of Giulio Romano in nearby Mantua. In 1560 he visited Rome, and soon after decorated the Villa Barbaro at Maser, built by Palladio. He painted mythological scenes in the style of Raphael: pagan gods and goddesses, desporting themselves upon clouds, in a setting of feigned architecture and garden landscape. His airy illusionism, the ease with which figures stand out from the delicate air or from a marble wall, his blazing sunlight and



237. VERONESE. *S. John the Baptist.* Rome, Galleria Borghese.

transparent shadows, his contrasts of rich and diaphanous colours, the graceful demeanour of his figures anticipate Tiepolo and the eighteenth century.

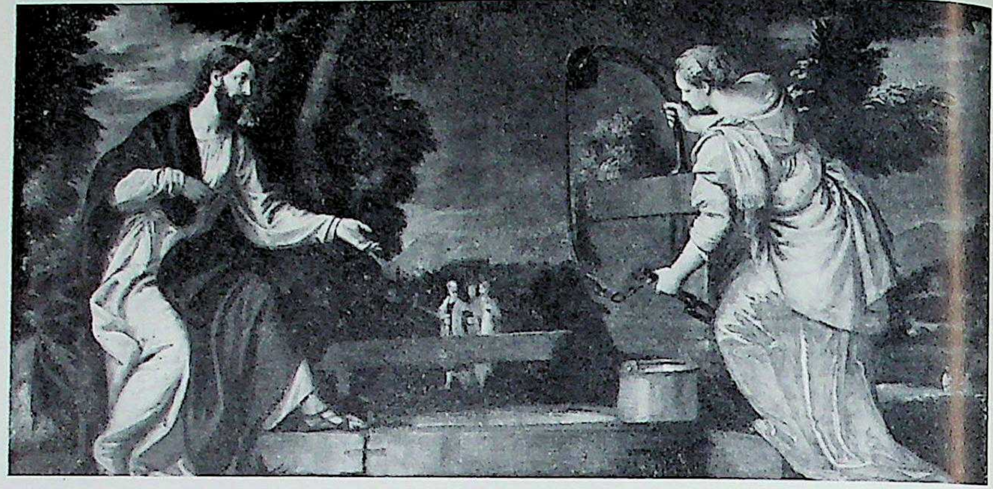
In an early work of his in the Galleria Borghese, Paolo created a 237 Watteau-like decoration, where *S. John the Baptist* steps into the picture, but points back to the Christ who, an evanescent shape in pale Venetian rose, comes walking over the brow of the hill. The pale key of colours, of rose, pastel green, and shimmering yellow, and the impressionist shapes in the middle distance, contrast with the stronger hues of the foreground, and here S. John's more than human shape is enhanced by his turbaned disciples in their opulent brocades. From the kneeling woman in the foreground the eye



238. VERONESE. *Supper at Emmaus.* Paris, Louvre (photo: Giraudon).

wanders into the depth of silvery distances, where windswept trees bow and shelter the diaphanous Christ. The right arm of the Baptist and the diagonal trees enhance this depth, and the airy landscape is sketched in with the palest tints of green and ochre and blue.

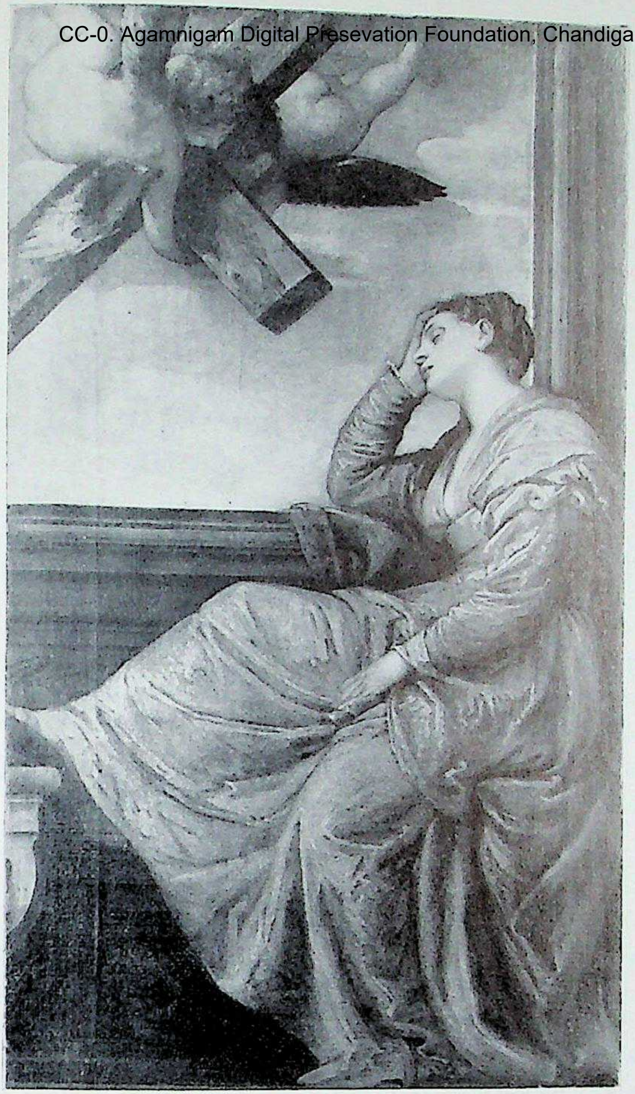
During the second half of the sixteenth century Veronese and Tintoretto dominate the art of Venice. But there could be no greater contrast than that between the Olympian calm of Veronese, detached and serene in its idealisation of the Renaissance world and the dramatic expression of Tintoretto, who with his magical light and depth, his decentralization of space came to destroy the Classical tradition. Veronese rarely penetrates into depth of space or of the human mind. When he paints the *Supper at Emmaus,* 238 now in the Louvre, he deviates little from the Classical order. Christ in a pale rose tunic, blessing the bread, is foiled by a dark doorway. With the two pilgrims by His side, the scene is composed within a flat triangle, whose apex is the pediment of the door. But this central group dissolves into the phalanx of people who crowd the room, servants and children and Veronese's own family standing for their portraits, his resplendent wife with the youngest child in her arm, his brother Benedetto, foiled by the column, and the



239. VERONESE. *Christ and the Samaritan Woman at the Well.* Vienna, Museum (photo: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).

painter himself looking out from the shadow. Veronese's family and the two ingenuous children in their patterned taffeta, playing with their patient spaniel, are there for no other reason than that which Veronese gave to the Inquisition, challenging his liberty of inserting worldly detail into sacred pictures : 'Who do you really believe were present at that Supper?' 'I believe Christ and the Apostles were present; but if in a picture there remains unfilled space, I adorn it with figures according to my invention.' A bold and conclusive answer which goes far to explain Veronese's decorative purpose.

There is in Veronese a Classical sense of decorum, of seemliness and reserve in the poise of his figures which separate him from Tintoretto's northern expressionism. When he painted *Christ and* 239 *the Samaritan Woman at the Well,* he composed a large oblong frieze, where the protagonists in the foreground plane are distinguished by their noble lassitude and dignified stance. To the almost Grecian beauty and seriousness of the Christ, wearing a dark green mantle over pale rose, corresponds the proud humility of the Samaritan woman in her opalescent silks of pale blue and gold. The centre is left free for the fantastic landscape under the deep grey blue of the sky, and there in the hollow under the windswept trees the Disciples approach from the city. The cool light, falling in from the left throws into relief the resplendent figures, inclining toward one another, and tips the foliage with ghostly silver. In the emotional restraint, the nobility of gesture of his principal figures Veronese



240. VERONESE. *S. Helena.* London, National Gallery (photo: National Gallery).

creates the decorative form and pattern for all presentations of Christ's meeting with the Samaritan woman.

Apart from his rare portraits, Veronese did not work from a model and his art remains anti-naturalistic. In the Palazzo Ducale he created those vast decorative fancies like the *Triumph of Venice*, or *Venice enthroned between Peace and Justice,* in which his pictorial science culminates. Equally imposing are the four Allegories in London, broadly conceived figures in harmonies of dark olive green, dull gold, rose and grey, silvery arabesques, patterned against the grey sky.

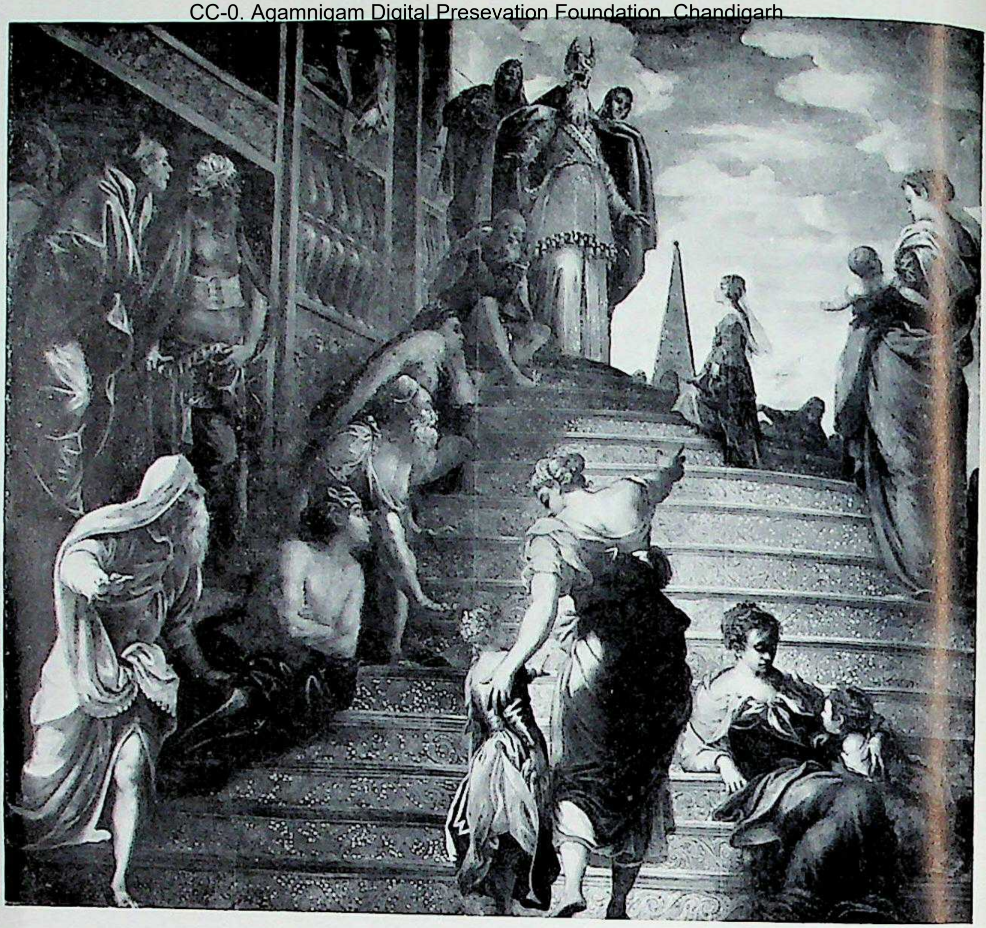
Classical composure and serenity inform the graceful figure of
240 *S. Helena* in the National Gallery. The decorative complexity of the Venetian feasts and banquets is now resolved into one calm and noble figure, standing out in sculptural grandeur in the delicate air or from a grey marble wall. The lassitude of the Saint, enclosed in the rectangular framework of the great window is opposed only by the turbulent cherubs, illustrating her vision of the discovery of the Cross, and emphasizing the diagonal of the composition. Sculptural presence and formal dignity of S. Helena are enhanced by the envelope of generous folds in the subdued tonality of her dress, matt gold and shimmering rose. Yet even in his most refulgent fancies Veronese remains an artist of the Renaissance, a stylist, a decorator, by his large and stately designs, his grace, his opulence. Human relationship resolves in types, in noble gesture, reserve, ceremonial, the preciousness of costume and patterned stuffs, enveloped by the diaphanous air of Venice, and foiled by the marble architecture of Palladio.

XXXII. MAGIC LIGHT AND DIAGONAL THRUST INTO SPACE.

Jacopo Tintoretto.

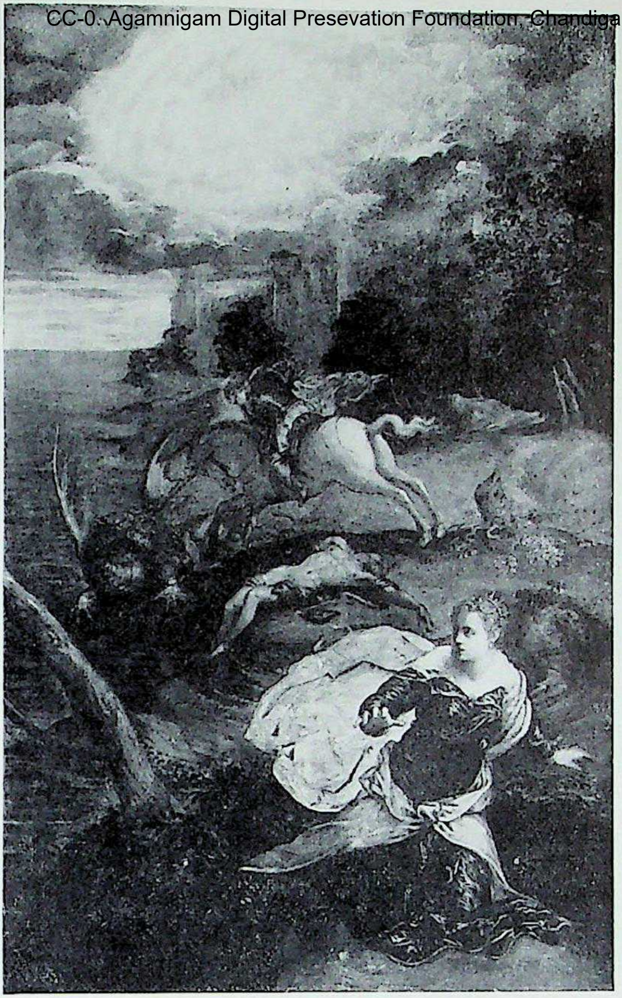
Venetian colour combines with chiaroscuro. Dramatic accents of light. Tempestuous movement inward and outward of the picture plane. Diagonal thrust into space. End of the Classical conventions of giving equal value, clarity, and detailed finish to each figure. Summary, often sketchy painting. Mobile forms set in an infinity of space. Religious impetus of the Catholic Revival. Hallucinatory lights and phantom figures of his late style preclude El Greco. Spiritualisation of form by the magic of light.

To the Classical clarity of Veronese, where figures exist side by side in the foreground plane of the picture, TINTORETTO opposes the Baroque concept of movement into the depth of space. To Veronese's silvery tones and radiant daylight, he opposes the rich composite colour of Titian and his own power of shadow and magical light; to Olympian serenity his tormented expressionism of form. Tintoretto's originality as a space composer, breaking away from the Classical tradition can be seen in his *Presentation of the Virgin* (1552), for which he had Titian's version in the Scuola della 241 Carità. Titian had organised a grand narrative in breadth, with Mary ascending alone the profiled steps of the Temple, followed by a long train of Venetian dignitaries, all portraits, and foiled by mountain peaks and Renaissance architecture. Tintoretto translates the broad horizontal scene into an upright composition, viewing the rounded 'mountain of steps' from the side, with Mary, small and solitary facing the towering priest on the summit. He divided the picture into zones of light and shadow, craftily placing figures in the interval of space, like the woman pointing upwards and the group sitting upon the stairs. Other figures clinging to the shadow of the wall continue the movement into the depth of the picture and up to the top, where the Virgin is silhouetted against the sky. Tintoretto's vision combines something of Michelangelo's sculptured bodies with the Mannerist elegance of Parmigianino, but is wholly original in the organisation of space and in the arbitrary accents of light and of dark, within the Venetian harmony of dark rose, lilac and grey.



241. TINTORETTO. *Presentation of the Virgin.* Venice, Madonna dell'Orto (photo: Fiorentini).

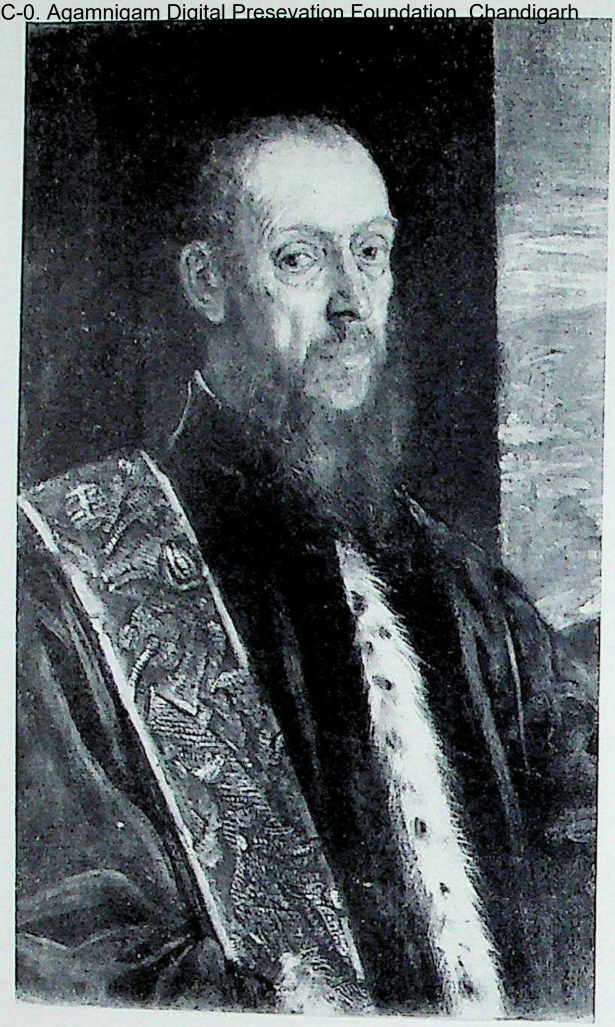
The tempestuous movement inwards and outwards of *S. George* 242 *slaying the Dragon* and the Princess fleeing from it, is enhanced by the windswept trees, the rolling folds of the countryside, and the fleeting shadows upon the castle. The story unfolds not in breadth as in Carpaccio's profile narrative of the fight, but in depth, which extends across the greenish sea to the luminous horizon and the elliptic whirl of light forming in the cloud-swept sky. Accents of rich composite colour, deep blue and rose, heightened with white in the fluttering robes of the princess, ring out upon the pastel green and light brown of the landscape; and the rotating movement of sky and earth accompany the agitation of the figures.



242. TINTORETTO. *S. George slaying the Dragon.* London, National Gallery (photo: National Gallery).

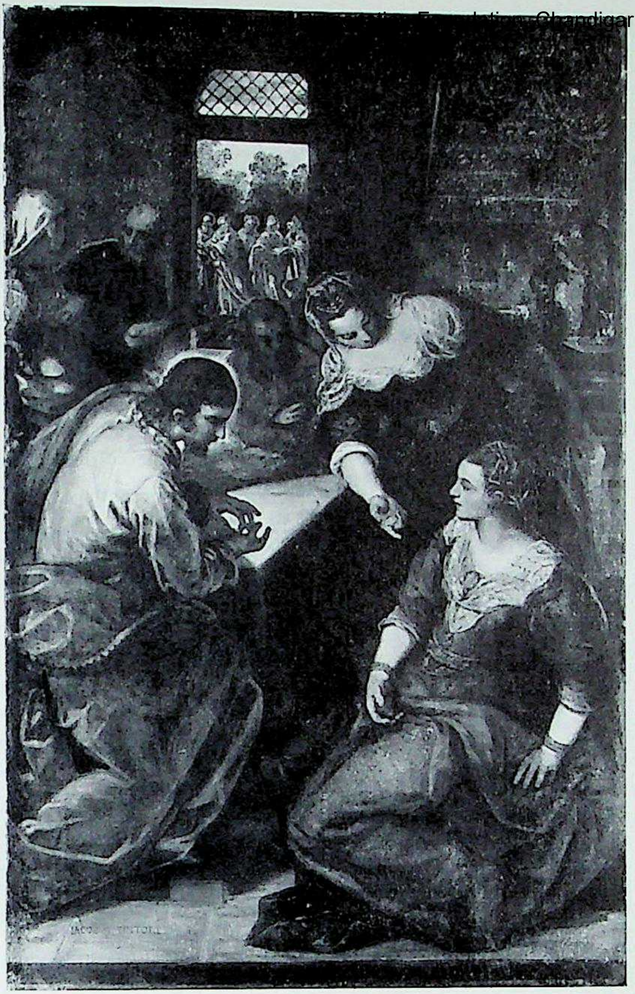
In the unequal vastness of Tintoretto's work the legendary scene stands out by the lightness and airiness of the design, the fantastic shore seen from above, the exquisite elegance of the princess and the blazing light in the bluish green atmosphere of sky and sea.

Tintoretto combined Venetian colour and heroic form with a predilection for strange lights and floating movement. In his youth he had experimented with waxen figures suspended in boxes, and drawn them by the light of candles. This may explain his odd angles and viewpoints and circular movements, for he was used to



243. TINTORETTO. *Portrait of Vincenzo Morosini.* London, National Gallery (photo: National Gallery).

seeing figures from above or below in fantastic effects of light. He studied in this way the intricacies of space, the aerial void in which bodies move, the light that hits flat and rounded surfaces. He broke with the Classical convention, with balance and clarity of each figure and set his mobile forms in an infinity of space. He conceived crowded compositions of unbelievable vastness. But if Tintoretto's manner was revolutionary, his subject matter, drawn from Christian religion and pagan antiquity, lay within the cultural orbit of his age. He was a passionate Catholic of the Counter Reformation, a champion of the *Ecclesia Triumphans*, whose symbols he glorified in



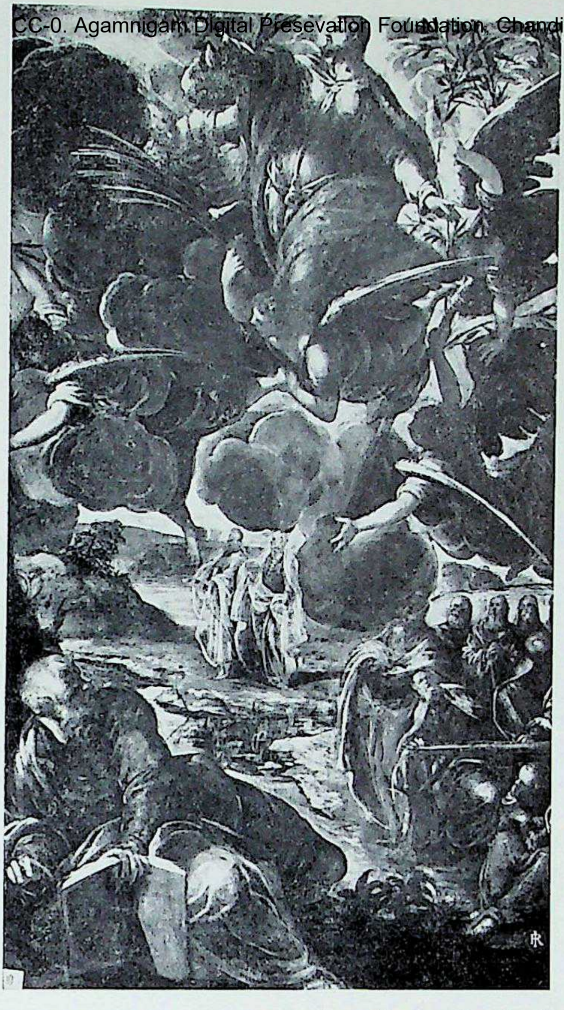
244. TINTORETTO. *Christ in the house of Martha and Mary.* Munich, Museum (photo: National Gallery).

countless narratives from Holy Script and the miraculous lives of the Saints.

His portraits reveal a more summary style than Titian's. They are more haunting and aggressive, like the grandiose half-length *Portrait of Vincenzo Morosini* in the National Gallery. The face 243 of the Venetian Senator in his velvet robe of dark crimson and gold-embroidered stole, is modelled by chisel strokes of the brush in the bright frontal light, and the unyielding character of the man who commanded the Venetian forces in the Turkish war, is powerfully inscribed. His wintry shape with the strong nose and sealed lips and puckered brow stands erect before the dark vertical foil, while his left shoulder slants towards the open vista of a greenish blue landscape, sketched in rapid impressionist swirls of the brush.

244 The Munich *Christ in the house of Mary and Martha* is perhaps simultaneous with the decorations of the Upper Hall of the Scuola di San Rocco with episodes from the life of the Saviour. The intimate scene takes place in a darkening kitchen interior open at the back, with a servant busy at a cupboard of Venetian glass. All this is the foil for the rotating movement of the three principal figures at the table. The vital moment of Christ's words — BUT ONE THING IS NEEDFUL AND MARY HAS CHOSEN THAT GOOD PART WHICH SHALL NOT BE TAKEN AWAY FROM HER — is reflected in the emphasis of His gaze and gesture, and in the arabesque of His hands, silhouetted against the brightly lit table. Mary, a noble Venetian in sumptuous dress, listens entrancedly and does not heed her sister's request to come and serve. Outside the Apostles are waiting, phantom shapes sketched in with nervous zigzagging strokes like Magnasco's hermits.

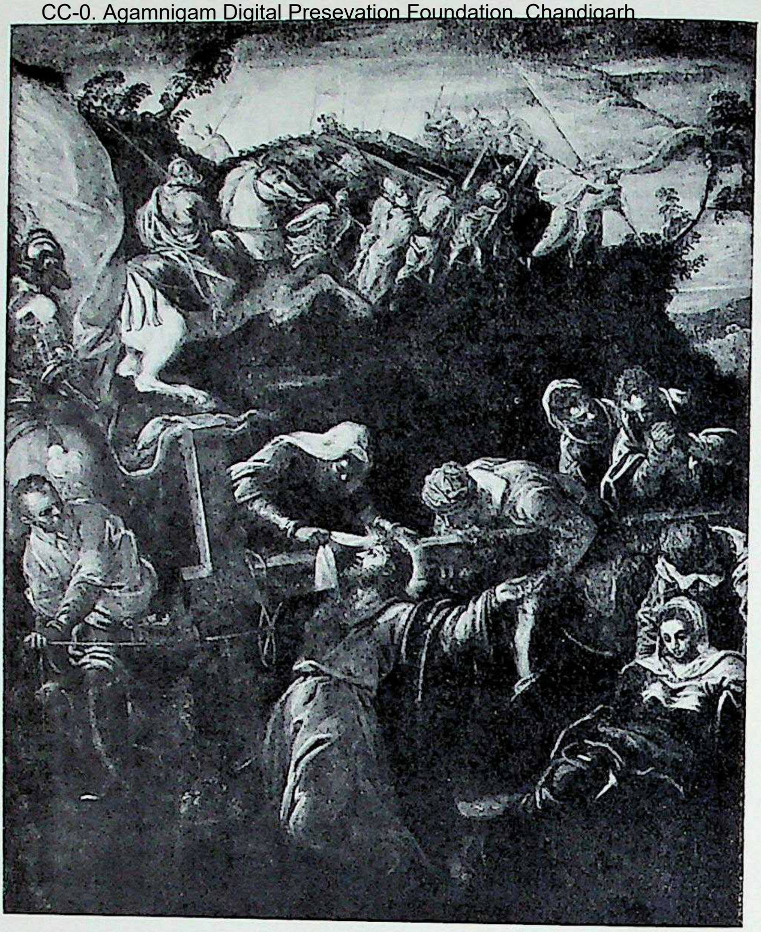
For twenty-three years Tintoretto served a religious confraternity in Venice, the Scuola di San Rocco. Here he painted, for their newly built church and house, scenes from the Old and New Testament (1564–1587). It is his *magnum opus,* in which he expressed his most personal vision of the Bible, a complete Christological cycle, comparable to that of the Byzantine mosaics. On the ceiling of the upper hall he painted episodes from the Old Testament, *Moses striking the Rock,* or the *Gathering of Manna,* and these correspond with the panels on the wall, drawn from the Gospels. The story of Christ, His miracles and His Passion, from the Nativity to the Ascension, is told with a visionary force and creative fury which reveals the new religious impetus of the Catholic Revival. The language of form, the hallucinations of Tintoretto's seething imagery, his spectral use of light to convey mystery, is without parallel before the coming of El Greco. For Tintoretto employs light and shade to blot out or illuminate at will. It is his main vehicle of expression and serves his dramatic purpose and his presentation of the supernatural. Rapid light—Longhi's *scrittura di luci*—transforms the Biblical scenes into a luministic network, where the protagonists emerge out of pools of shadow. In the *Agony in the Garden* half the picture space is impenetrable darkness; but from it the heroic Christ, succoured by a huge cup-bearing Angel, stands out in a wheel of light, which reverberates on the phosphorescent leaves, beneath which the Apostles lie in a huddled heap. Behind



245. TINTORETTO. *Ascension.* Venice, Scuola di San Rocco (photo: Anderson).

them, phantom-like, Christ's captors approach out of the forest darkness, led by Judas.

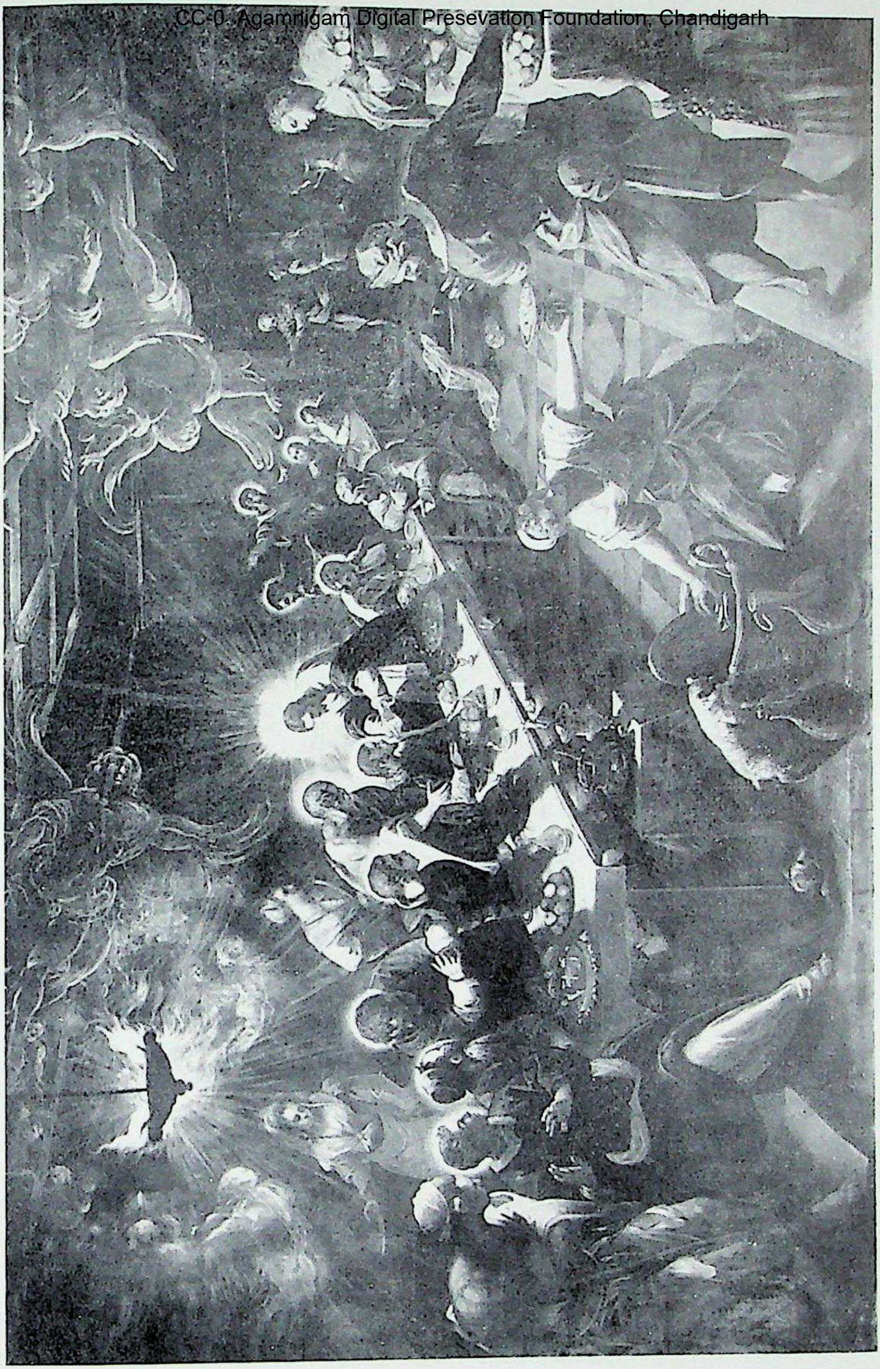
In the *Ascension* a wholly fantastic lunar landscape of swamps and rocks harbours isolated groups of Apostles like disembodied spectres who gaze up in dismay, where Christ has risen upon black convolutions of cloud ringed with light. Amidst these explosive vapours great Baroque angels float, their wings and arms spread wide, swinging branches of olive and palm. And here the contrast between the scattered Apostles—ghostly and transparent phantoms 245



246. TINTORETTO. *Christ carrying the Cross.* New York, A. R. Ball Inc. (photo: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).

moving inwards on the earthly plane—and the superhuman Christ borne aloft upon giant wings, is such that the Baroque theatricals of the *Ascension* outweigh and outbalance the earthly desolation.

Movement is the soul of the Baroque, and the *Christ carrying the* 246 *Cross* becomes in Tintoretto's hallucinatory fancy a cavalcade of riders and lancers up the winding slope of a hill. The movement is not into depth of space, but upwards in spiral fashion, and the relentless procession of horsemen and pikemen and standard bearers with banners unfurled diminishes in scale until it disappears over the brow of the hill. Below in the magic light the drama unfolds with Christ breaking down under the cross, Veronica wiping His bleeding brow, the Madonna swooning, and S. John wringing his



247. TINTORETTO. *Last Supper.* Venice, San Giorgio Maggiore (photo: Fiorentini).

hands in despair. The actors of the Passion are arrayed along the huge beam of the cross, and the upper train moves parallel to it but in the opposite direction. The artist of the Catholic revival arouses the religious emotion by contrasting the cruel haste of the executioners with the agony of the sacred personages.

247 The final word of Tintoretto, the *Last Supper* in Santa Maria Maggiore, painted in the year of his death, is also his supreme essay in the spiritualization of form by the magic of light. No Last Supper is further removed from Leonardo's Classical symmetry and its individualization of the human form. As a fore-runner of the Baroque, Tintoretto composes in the diagonal. He has flung out the diminishing plane of the table into the depth of the room and dissolved the wall on the side of the Apostles by cascades of diffused light which radiate like a wheel of fire in all directions. In the haze of light angels beat their wings, and their spectral bodies float in the vast ambience of the scene. There are two sources of light : the hanging lamp with the flames leaping over its border, and the haloes around the small dark heads of the Apostles. There is no action, no announcement of the coming betrayal. Christ in a circle of blazing light gives the Host to a disciple. But there are two contrasting spheres : the servants who busy themselves with the meal throw into stronger relief the spiritual assembly of Apostles, experiencing the supreme Christian mystery. These are no longer individuals of marked conduct and character like Leonardo's Apostles, but nameless abstractions whose substance is light and shadow. The Byzantine symbolism of gesture resolves into a 'surrealistic nocturne' of expressionist force.

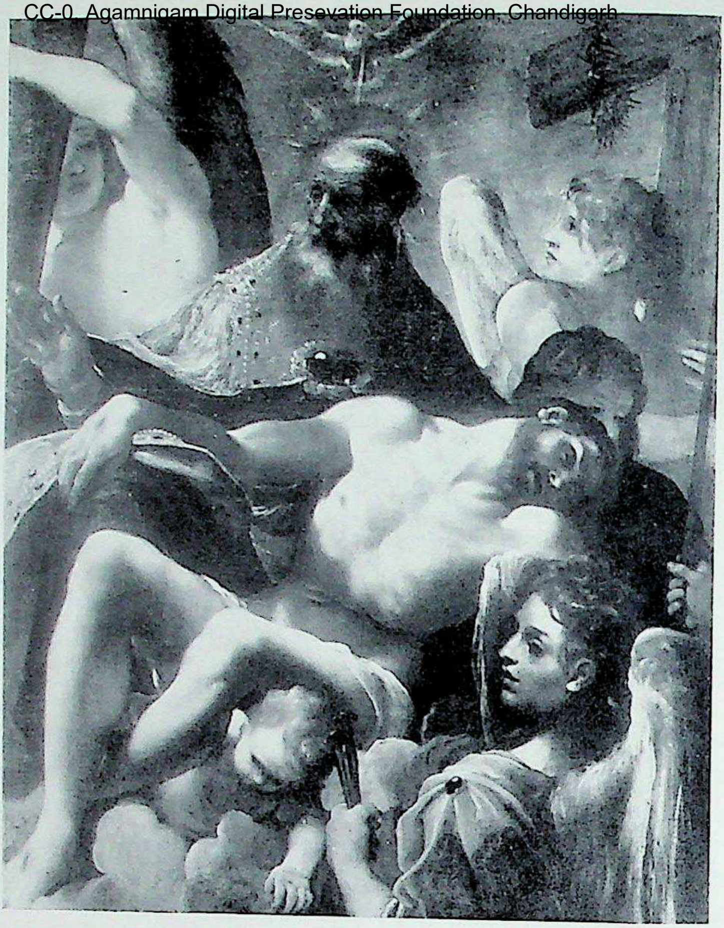
XXXIII. THE BIRTH OF A NEW STYLE—THE ROOTS OF THE BAROQUE AND THE MODERNISATION OF THE CLASSICAL IDEAL—THE SCHOOL OF BOLOGNA: I.

Lodovico and Annibale Carracci.

The Carracci Academy was founded in the fifteen-eighties to put an end to Mannerism by a direct inspiration from nature. LODOVICO CARRACCI who remained in Bologna, was prompted by the Counter Reformation and painted religious pictures in the emotional and luministic style of the early Baroque. ANNIBALE CARRACCI created the new style of the Seicento by his Roman frescoes in the Palazzo Farnese. These are inspired by a study of the Antique, by Michelangelo's nudes and Raphael's mural decorations, but breathe a new freedom of the senses and a Baroque exuberance. Naturalism, fantasy, and the painterly style of Annibale create in the Farnese frescoes a new language of form which is Classical as well as Baroque.

The Mannerist experiment had proved an impasse in Italian art, and the reaction against its abstractions—apart from the new realism of Caravaggio—came from a great family of artists, born and bred in Bologna: the Carracci. The three principal members of the family, Lodovico, Agostino, and Annibale, formed a joint workshop in Bologna in the fifteen-eighties, with the idea of giving painting a new start by breaking with the current formulae of Mannerism. That the study of nature played a prominent part in this endeavour must have been due in great part to the youngest and greatest, Annibale. The Carracci were able to sweep away the artificialities of Mannerism because they were above all experimentalists, just when that quality was most needed.

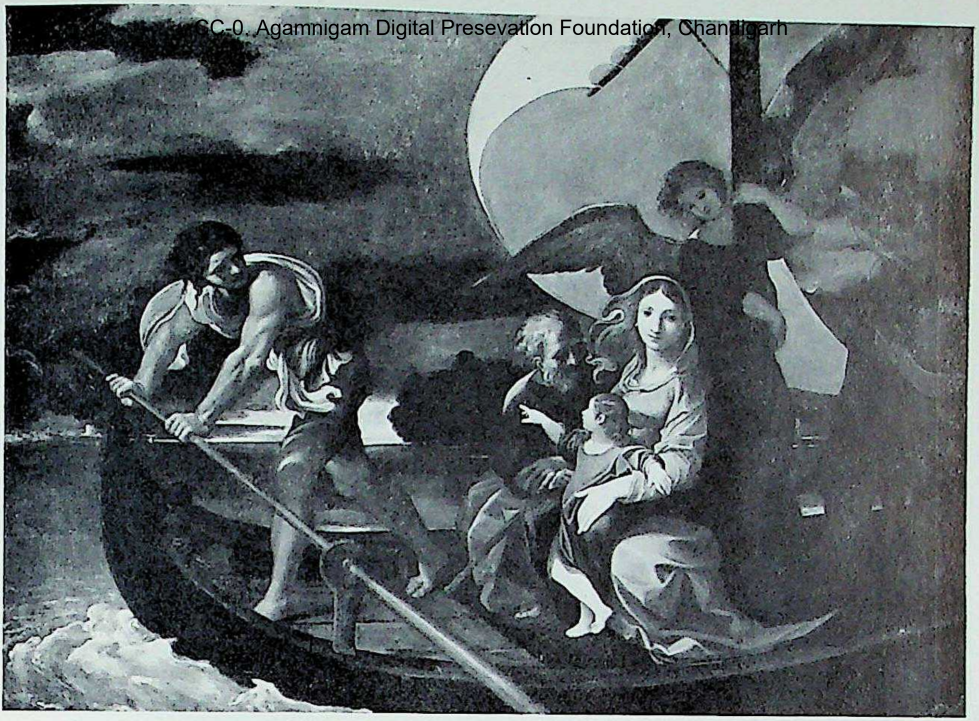
The eldest, LODOVICO CARRACCI, always lived in Bologna, and so was unaffected by the powerful Classical influences encountered by his cousins: Agostino, chiefly noted as an engraver, and Annibale, who both went to Rome in the fifteen-nineties. Lodovico was a visionary, whose new direct imagery in treating religious themes was in tune with the Counter Reformation, which sought to harness the visual arts to the service of a militant and rhetorical church. Painting, wrote Cardinal Paleotti at Bologna, when Lodovico was still in his twenties, should penetrate far deeper into the minds of men than words, and Lodovico's pictures owe their emotional impulse to sincere participation in the Catholic Revival. Lodovico's art is accordingly devotional and even austere—in contrast to Annibale's glorification of the physical prowess of pagan antiquity.



248. LODOVICO CARRACCI. *Trinity with the Dead Christ.* Vatican (photo: Gallerie Mus. Vaticani).

Lodovico appeals to the popular emotion by a new poignancy and directness in his religious compositions, often aided by a mysterious and romantic luminism, which was to be the seed of an important element in Baroque art.

248 In his picture of the *Trinity with the dead Christ* he speaks the pictorial language of the Catholic revival. The figures are boldly composed into an intricate pattern based upon two diagonals. The religious emotion is roused by the radiant beauty of the dead Christ in the lap of the Father, who is surrounded by sorrowful angels bearing the instruments of the Passion. Planes of deep shadow alternate with brilliant light coming from an invisible source, and sculptural form is combined with pictorial fluency. The tonality

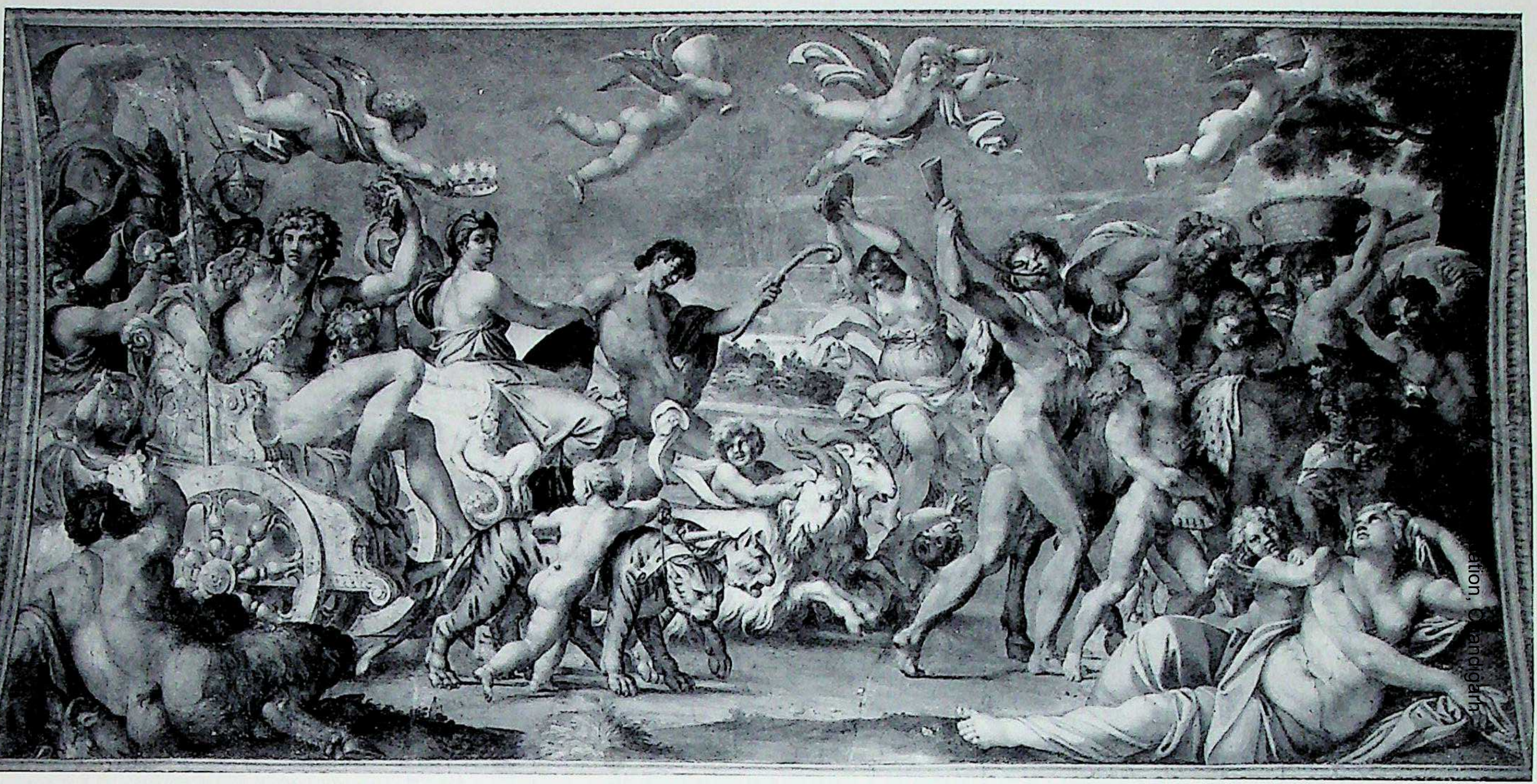


249. LODOVICO CARRACCI. *Flight into Egypt.* Bologna, Casa Tacconi (photo: A. Villani & Figli).

is subdued: Venetian red and gold and a large sapphire adorn the Eternal Father, and the dark angel on the right is clothed in russet. Great swirling brushstrokes define his wings, and it is in the pictorial manner as much as in the billowing clouds and folds and the restless light and its spiritual accents that the Baroque is made manifest. Lodovico's art is nowhere so akin to that of his greatest follower Guercino.

But Lodovico is not always as compassionate and emphatic, and his poetic imagination transforms the *Flight into Egypt* into an 249 idyllic and intimate story. The Holy Family is seated in a barque which a youthful boatman guides across the water, while behind them and unknown to them two angels hoist the sail. Lodovico has not forgotten the ass nibbling in the shadow of the boat, while the evening sun lights up the low horizon and the silhouette of town and wood.

ANNIBALE CARRACCI provides a striking contrast to Lodovico. He was endowed with an unquenchable curiosity, and was far more

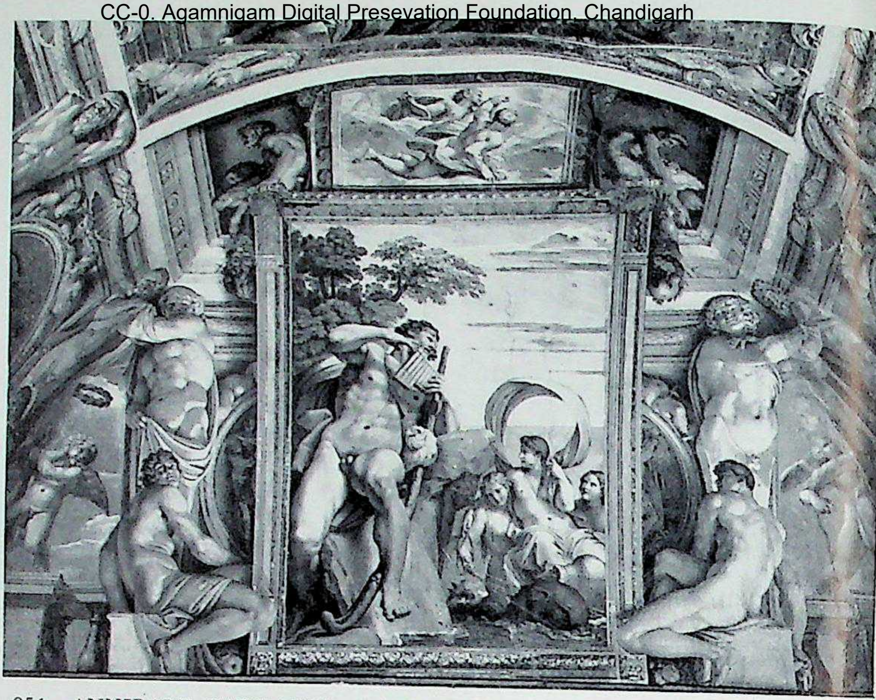


250. ANNIBALE GARRACCI. *Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne.* Rome, Farnese Palace (photo: Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale).

interested in exploring and mastering natural appearances than his visionary cousin. In certain early works, notably in the almost Cézanne-like *Bean Eater* in the Colonna Gallery, he achieves a degree of elemental realism which was at the time unique. He is usually thought of as an idealizing artist—on account of the Classical flavour of his greatest work, the Farnese frescoes in Rome, but he was also the inventor of portrait caricature—the precise reverse of idealization. His range and originality were in fact considerable; a study of his achievements as a draughtsman on paper abundantly testifies to this.

When Annibale was painting his great altarpieces in the decade preceding his Roman residence, he had already studied Correggio in Parma (about 1585), and he followed this up with a visit to Venice around 1587–88, which brought him under the influence of the works of Titian and, above all, of Veronese. His religious paintings, except towards the end of his career, do not stir to sadness or contrition, but are joyful hymns of festive splendour. This spirit is visible at an early stage in the *Baptism of Christ* (1585) at Bologna, where angelic choirs play on flutes and viols in a luminous heaven. The enthusiasm, the sensuous beauty and the naturalness of copse and river are Annibale's vision of the Christian Universe, and they too were not inacceptable to the Counter Reformation. Indeed he never lost his special interest in landscape, a field which was purely marginal to Lodovico. Pagan subjects—the exception with Lodovico—were well suited to Annibale's temperament, and he had tried his hand at a number of them when he received the summons to 'recreate Antiquity' at the Palazzo Farnese in Rome. Equipped with a love of colourful richness, fostered by his contacts with Venetian art, and a sense of order amid variety, he set out for Rome around 1595 to carry out his greatest task. This, commissioned by a Prince of the Church, Cardinal Odoardo Farnese, had for a
subject a cycle of pagan mythologies illustrating the Power of Love; 250
of *Bacchus and Ariadne, Polyphemus and Galatea,* of *Paris and* 251
Mercury and other legends of Antiquity. It enabled Annibale to 252
take his place in a tradition of monumental fresco decoration which already included Michelangelo and Raphael.

It is in these decorations of the Palazzo Farnese that Annibale comes into his own with paintings derived from Michelangelo's nudes and from Roman statuary, but endowed with a new freedom, a new life likeness and a passionate sensuality. Never before has an artist filled Antique fable and statuary with a more modern spirit, a more personal lightness and gaiety; and though his gods and heroes

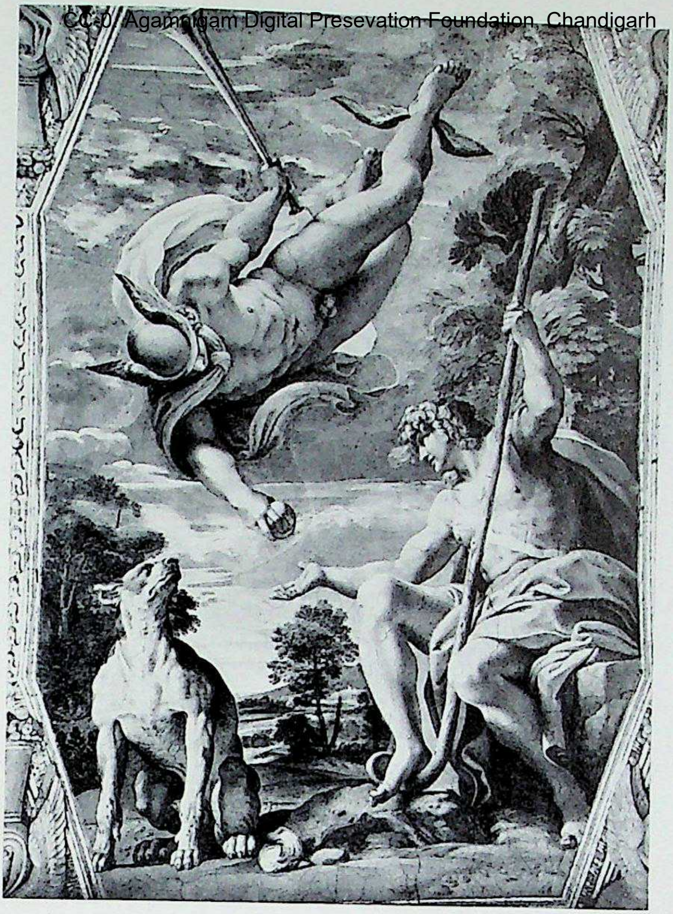


251. ANNIBALE CARRACCI. *Polyphemus and Galatea.* Rome, Farnese Palace (photo: Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale).

are a race of Olympians, they move with the joy and ecstasy of masks and mummers in the fullness of the senses.

250 Annibale's triumphal trains and chariots of *Bacchus and Ariadne* with horned Pans and flying putti have exchanged the Classical serenity and calm of Raphael for the dynamic drama, the all-pervading glow of life of Rubens. With the Galleria Farnese begins a new mode of mural decoration: a great illusion of bronze, stone, and flesh colour, a feigned architecture, a feigned world of Antique heroes, a romantic dream of a Classical past. It is a decorative coexistence of sculptured nudes, seated on low thrones like Michelangelo's Slaves, of athletic Atlases and Caryatides, and of winged genii fluttering around cameo-like reliefs of mythological scenes. These closely packed and overlapping forms, by their airy illusionism, their ripeness, their radiance, are a fantastic reincarnation of a pagan world. As they blossom out between vaults and stone cornices, they are Annibale's full-blooded anticipation of the Baroque.

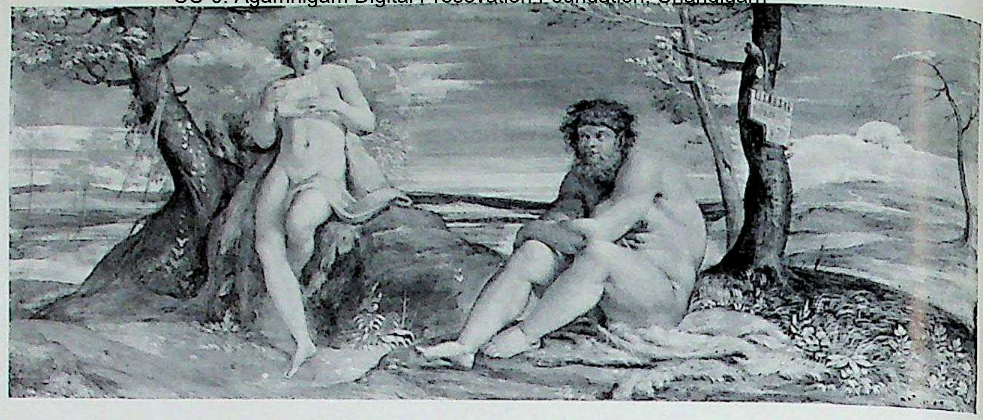
The tremendous sculptural effect of the Farnese ceiling is obtained by the setting off of colours, all bright, but graded. A bronze coloured faun reclines in front of the golden chariot of Bacchus, and the



252. ANNIBALE CARRACCI. *Paris and Mercury*. Rome, Farnese Palace (photo: Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale).

god's darker hues are seen against Ariadne's roseate flesh, before the pastel green of the countryside. The Bacchic train reaches its height in the wild ecstasy of the dancing nymph and the satyr blowing his horn. Annibale's ceiling is a half-way house between Titian and Rubens in its Classic composure and controlled exuberance.

In the smaller panels and feigned corners mythological love scenes framed in gold to look like canvases, alternate with medallions, caryatides, and stone-coloured nudes; gigantic anatomies in classical postures of arrested movement, where all is daylight brightness, luminous fleshtints, sunlight and azure. In *Paris and Mercury* the 252
latter god floating through the sky is seen 'di sotto in su,' a tremendous shape, the whole length of his body extended, and beneath him

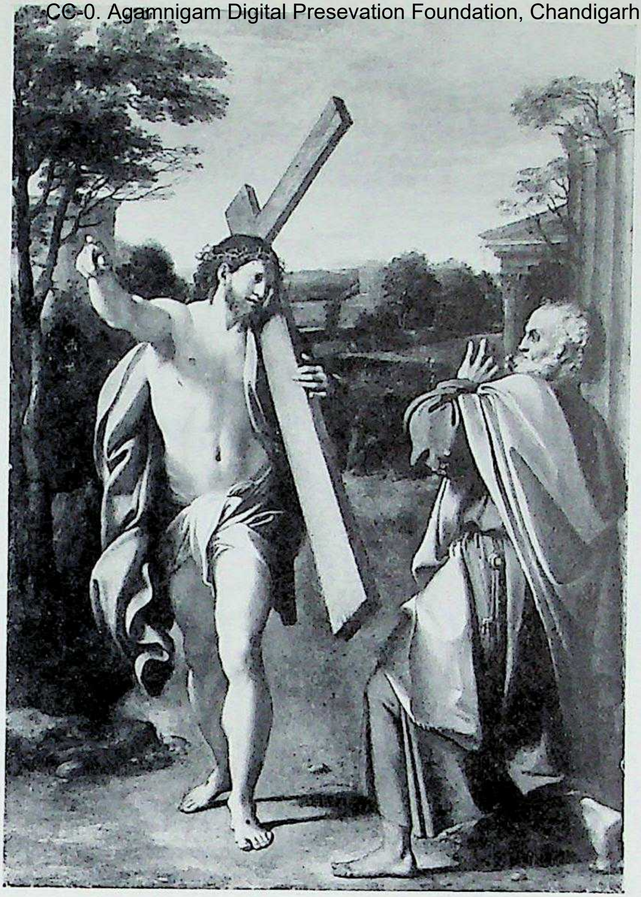


253. ANNIBALE CARRACCI. *Bacchus playing to Silenus.* London, National Gallery (photo: National Gallery).

Paris reclines, blond and roseate like the dawn, with his huge staff and dog. This painting and the sylvan Pan opposite are the most plastic and grandly conceived divinities of the Galleria, besides the 251 mythology of *Polyphemus and Galatea* on the short side of the ceiling. Here Polyphemus, a tremendous shape with swelling thigh foreshortened, plays the reed-pipe to Galatea, who approaches the shore on her dolphin-drawn shell, her rose coloured veil arched in the breeze like sail or canopy. The nude youths are less strenuous than Michelangelo's in the Sistine; yet they are painted with enhanced naturalism, their muscular bodies, sinews, chests, backs built up of swelling flesh. But if they are true to nature, they are greater than life; they are Roman sculpture translated into an almost Baroque medium of paint, and by this transformation they have received a new soul.

Two small canvases from the time of the Roman frescoes, *Silenus gathering Grapes* and *Bacchus playing to Silenus* are in the National Gallery, and these invoke the same world of pastoral poetry of a Golden Age, where gods and wood-creatures people the sunlit earth 253 in unselfconscious dream. In the *Bacchus playing to Silenus* the ruddy flesh-tones of the Arcadian figures are set against the pastel shades and ochres of undulating folds, the silvery leaves and russet trees under the green streaks of the limpid sky. It is an idyll of primeval times, where reed-pipe and flute are hanging on the trees and the musical colloquy of the gods melts into the harmony of the spheres.

254 Then in the *Domine Quo Vadis?* Annibale created a mature composition in which Classical form and religious emotion are



254. ANNIBALE CARRACCI. *Domine Quo Vadis?* London, National Gallery (photo: National Gallery).

perfectly balanced. The moment is represented when Peter, fleeing from persecution, encounters the Lord bearing His Cross. Christ's swift advance, His arm raised, His great Cross shouldered, is answered by the start of Peter who recoils in terror. The Olympian sureness of Christ is conveyed by the vigour and radiance of His Body and enhanced by the roseate mantle and the great Cross which thrusts into space. The deep ultramarine of Peter's tunic is in harmony with the lighter azure of the midday sky. The white rays of the sun cause short shadows as firm as the bodies. The two solitary figures are framed by the Classical temple and columns, and behind this lies a landscape of receding meadows and dark foliage dreams in the softer light of the middle distance. Antique and modern elements mingle in a composition which by its balanced design, its plastic sequence, and its emotional content, is like a summary of Annibale's Roman achievement. In these ripest works of his short life Annibale attains a Raphaelian classicism of form and a refinement of all pictorial means which point the way through Domenichino, whose evocative landscapes owe much to his example, to that consummate Classicist Nicolas Poussin.

XXXIV. THE BIRTH OF A NEW STYLE—

THE SCHOOL OF BOLOGNA : II.

Guido Reni — Domenichino — Lanfranco — Guercino.

In GUIDO RENI a reaction to the religious rhetoric of the Baroque leads to a refined and sensual Classicism and a neo-Hellenistic beauty and purity of the human form in the wake of Raphael. DOMENICHINO combines Classicist tendencies of elaborate and balanced design with the religious iconography of the Counter Reformation. In his Classical landscapes with figures he creates a new genre before Poussin and Claude Lorrain. GUERCINO, the foremost religious painter of the Catholic Revival, is Lodovico Carracci's follower. Later, in Rome he overcomes a certain realistic harshness and the contrasts of restless light and powerful shadows of his Baroque painterly style by a more Classical mode of composition.

A flourishing school of younger painters received tuition in the Carracci workshop. Of these the eldest and most celebrated was GUIDO RENI (1575–1642) who, yearning after a Raphaelesque and indeed almost Grecian ideal of human beauty, turned away from the demonstrative illusionism of the Roman Baroque, to find refuge in a highly personal world of refined elegance. At about twenty he had entered the Carracci workshop, or academy as it came to be called, at Bologna, which by that date was run by Lodovico alone. At twenty-five he reaches Rome. After the briefest flirtation with a somewhat attenuated form of Caravaggesque realism, he returned for a short stay in Bologna, where he came again into contact with Lodovico. The young Reni possessed that innate sensitiveness to the subtleties of singing line and rhythm which Lodovico lacked. Henceforward he dreams of a neo-Hellenistic beauty and purity of the human form—an abstraction which distinguishes his Classicism from the more substantial, more earthbound version of Annibale.

Reni was an artist for art's sake. He deifies the human form and distils from his imagination an ideal humanity in balanced and

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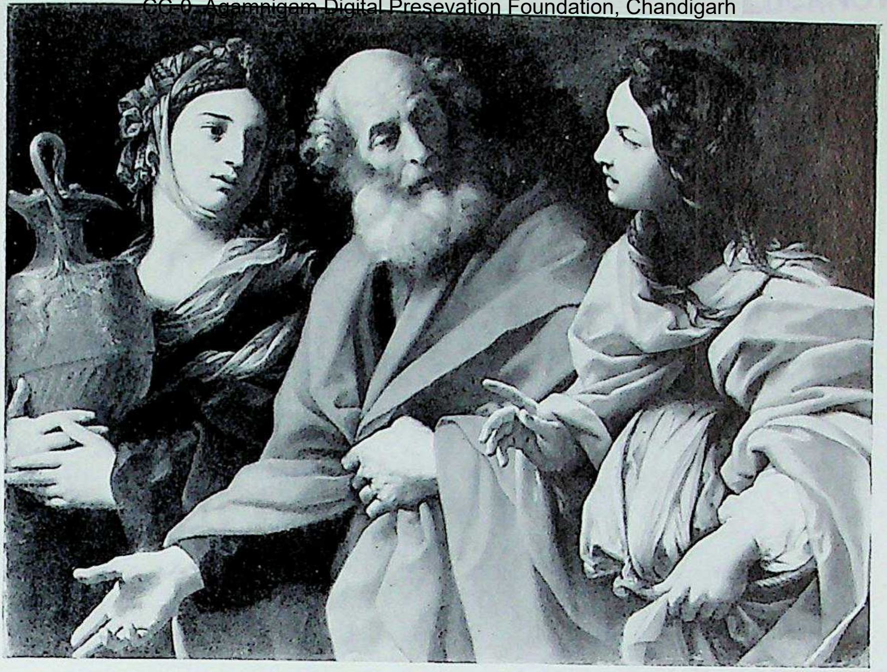
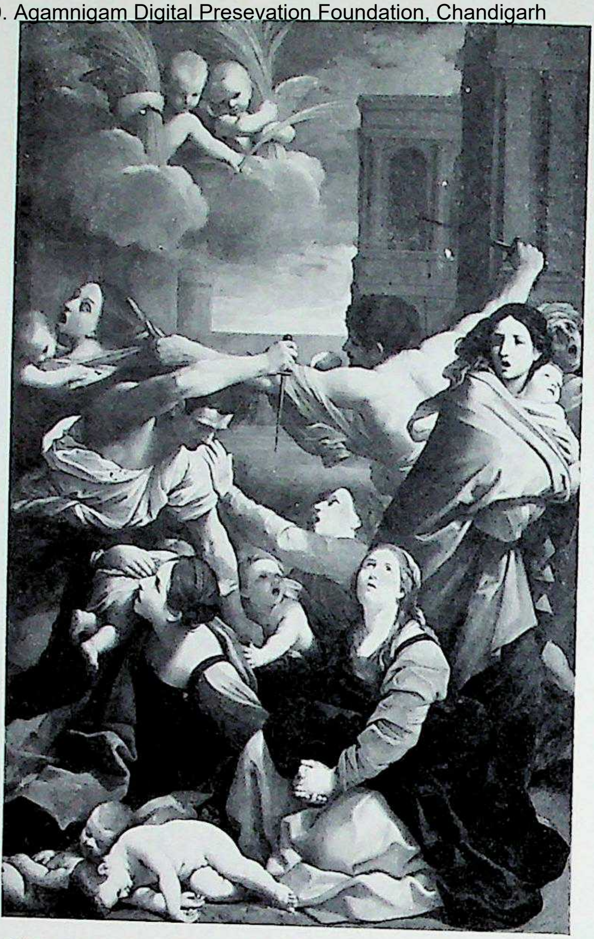


255. GUIDO RENI. *Lot and his Daughters leaving Sodom.* London, National Gallery (photo: National Gallery).

rhythmical compositions. He seems to have lived in an aristocratic vacuum of his own dream creations, divorced from nature and from the main streams of contemporary art. He was equally averse to Caravaggio's realism as to the formal abandon of the Roman Baroque. Born a century after the Classical age, his nostalgia after Raphael's antiquity turns him not into a Classic but a Classicist artist.

His women are antique heroines of rich and luxuriant beauty, as in *Lot and his Daughters leaving Sodom,* and here he reveals his 255 power as a great colourist in the glowing scarlet of Lot's mantle, the mauve grey of the daughter carrying the pitcher, and the opalescent gold of her sister's voluminous robe. These sumptuous and glittering textures are matched by the richly graded colour in the radiant light, and the marmoreal beauty of the daughters of Lot. Moreover, Reni combined the effects of movement with a psychological twist and enlivened the Classical symmetry and grandeur of his figures by persuasive looks and expressive gestures.

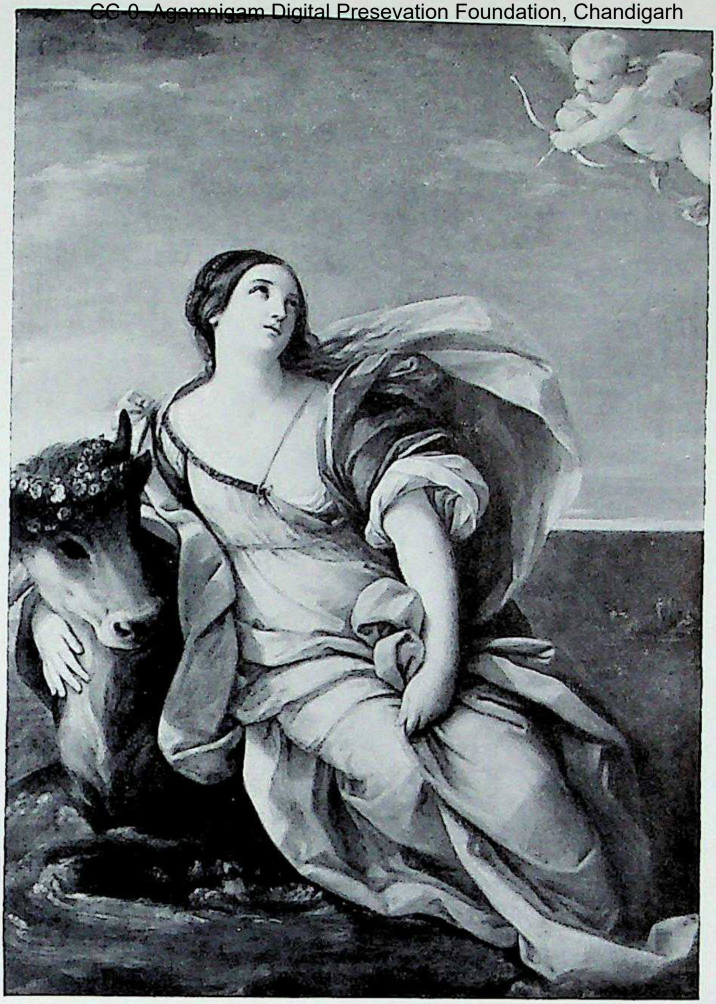
In the *Massacre of the Innocents* he endowed a Christian subject 256 with the same sense of Classical order and Raphaelesque form. This



256. GUIDO RENI. *Massacre of the Innocents.* Bologna, Pinacoteca (photo: A. Villani & Figli).

composition is so closely knit, so firmly held in its dramatic correspondence of figures, the tempered violence of the executioners, and dignified grief of the mothers, that it becomes an abstraction of the historical scene. By his architectural build up of figures, the emotional restraint and the beauty of the human form, Guido 'raised the subject from the horrific to the level of tragedy' (Burckhardt).

257 *Europa and the Bull* painted in Reni's late period, is the fulfilment. In her sweet melancholy, her sentimental abandon, her voluminous form, she is one of Reni's significant shapes. Titian's Europa is more dramatic, passionate and fierce; Veronese's more decorative and festive; but Reni's goddess has the languid purity, the largeness, the lassitude of his Classicist ideal. As she sails on

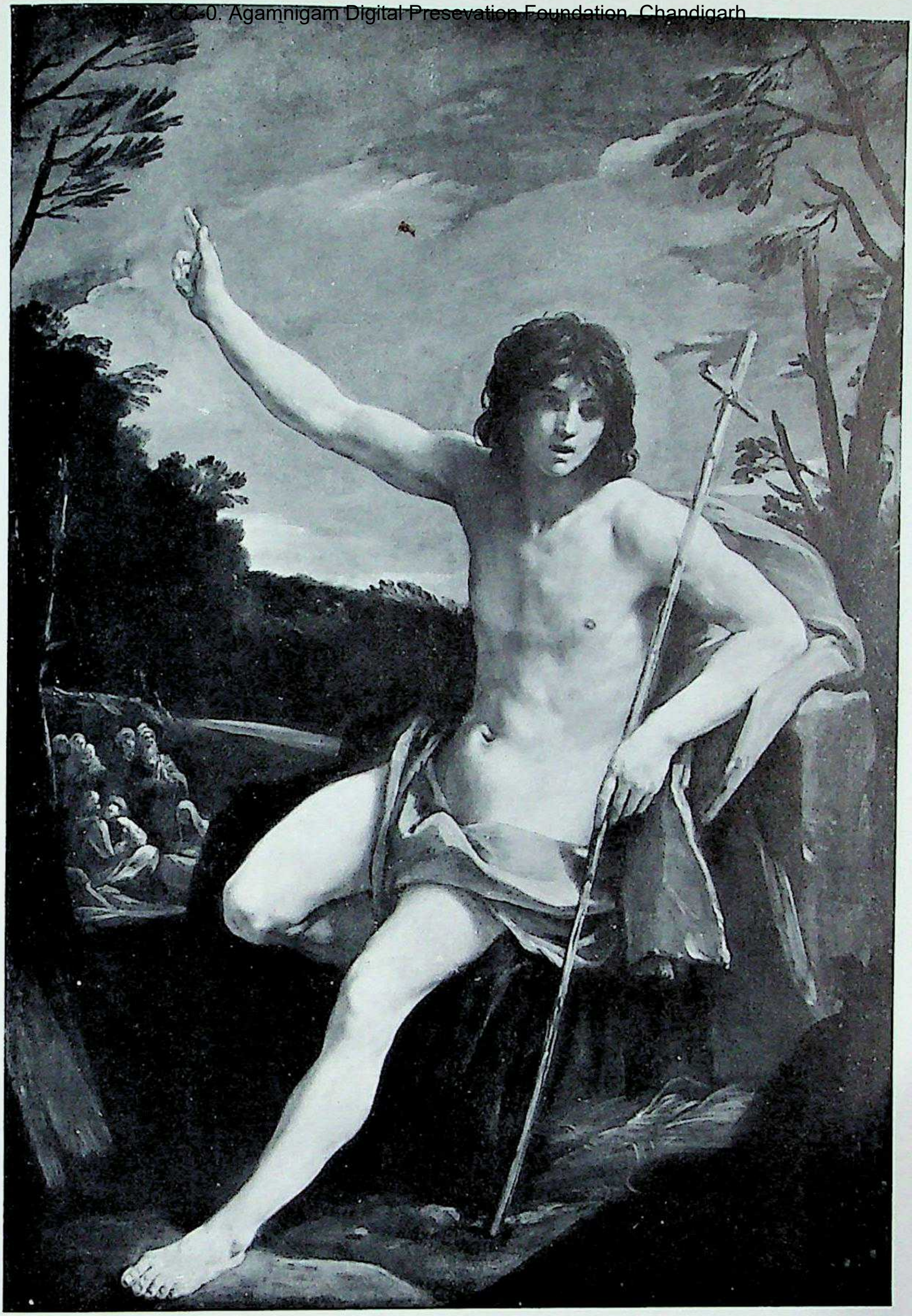


257. GUIDO RENI. *Europa and the Bull.* London, Denis Mahon Collection (photo: Courtesy Denis Mahon).

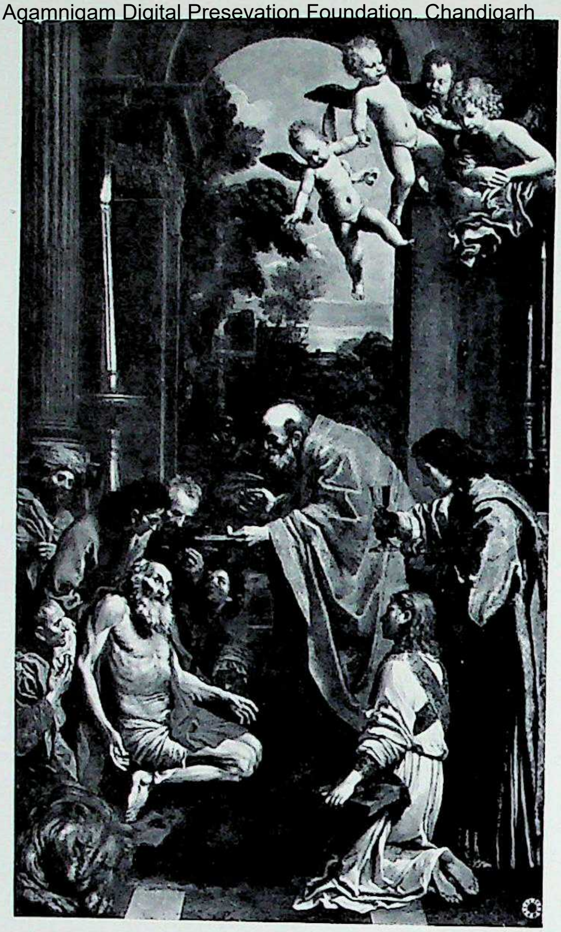
the grey crests of the waves, sitting astride the gentle bull, her robe billowing in the breeze, her eyes lifted up to heaven, she is a memorable invention in the ordered complexity of the design, the silvery transparency of tones. Reni no longer employs the forceful design and glowing colours of his youth. Forms are softly modelled, tones evanescent and graded, golden yellow and pale purple and bluish grey. Her loose and abandoned pose, her musical rhythm, her restrained emotion are more Christian than pagan. Europa's softly gliding shape in the 'clear diffused light, transparent paint and graceful linear rhythm' (Mahon) illustrates the late style of Guido Reni.

In 1614, after completing his famous *Aurora,* Guido left Rome and made Bologna his headquarters. He remains anti-Baroque in the slender grace of his figures and in the subtle transparency of his colour, especially in the last decade of his life. The Dulwich *S. John*
258 *the Baptist preaching* reveals a mastery of design, colour and light, a style so lyrical and poetic, that it gains an iconic power, like Raphael's or del Sarto's S. John in the previous century. The prophetic character of the preacher in the wilderness is expressed in his emaciated body, his possessed gaze, his savage hair. The nude figure is poised upon its rock, so that the subtle balance of uprights and horizontals is maintained. The raised arm of the prophet repeats the gentle curve of the forest, and the slender cross which he holds is continued in the tree. The adolescent body of S. John is modulated by soft light and flickering shadows, and set against the chiaroscuro of the woodland glade where his pupils are forgathered. The shadows dissolve into the roseate flesh tones of this fragile body, which is tense and taut like his spirit. The energy, the complexity of the body, the firmness of the small head, the ruddy cheeks, the terseness of skin and limb are generously modelled. In harmony with this radiant figure is the woodland clearing, where the disciples huddle in the half light, with its touches of mauve and of blue. The colour sensibility of Guido shuns the loud tones, and the prophet's loincloth is painted in a dull silvery green, almost the colour of the rock. The Dulwich S. John in his transparency and composure is a work of such refinement and delicacy that Reni appears as an antidote to the more robust and naturalistic members of the Bolognese School.

DOMENICHINO (1581–1641) was coeval with Guido Reni. Like him he was born and bred in Bologna and trained under Lodovico Carracci. When he went to Rome in 1602 to join Reni and Albani, he worked as Annibale's assistant in the Palazzo Farnese, and later was employed in decorative paintings by Roman Cardinals. He was essentially the heir of the Classicism of Annibale's last period. The Counter Reformation promoted a new iconography with special emphasis on the cult of the Virgin, of Saints and sacraments, the penitential and the ecstatic character of the Christian religion. In
259 *The Last Communion of S. Jerome* (1614) Domenichino created one of the most significant paintings of the Catholic revival. The dying Saint, supported by his disciples, receives the Eucharist from the hands of the priest, in pious ecstasy, while angels pray and frolic



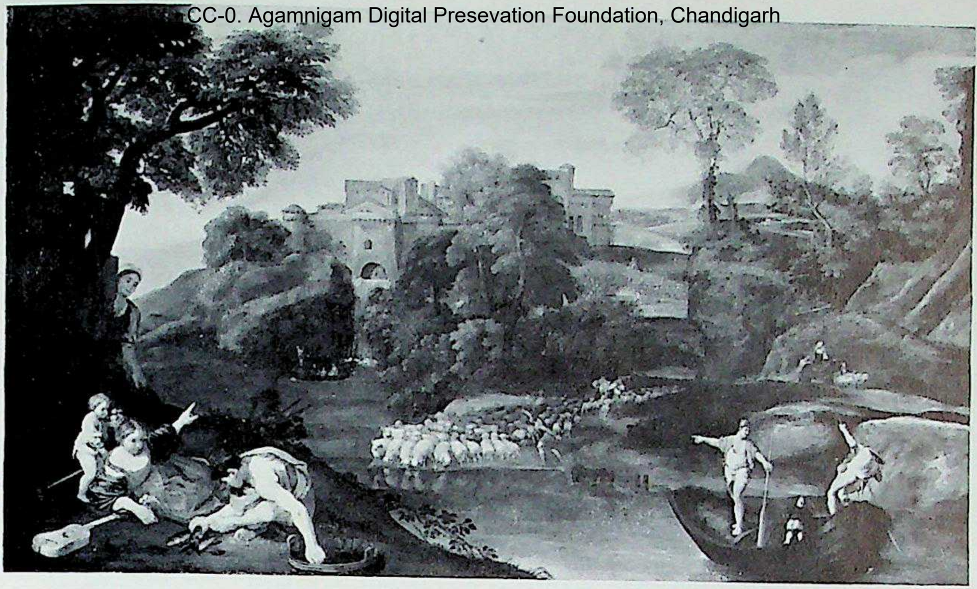
258. GUIDO RENI. *S. John the Baptist preaching.* Dulwich Gallery.



259. DOMENICHINO. *The Last Communion of S. Jerome.* Vatican (photo: Anderson).

in the sky. The spirit of the great altarpiece, its emotional warmth, the awe and solemnity with which the Sacrament is administered and received, denote the new religious vitality in the art of the Roman Baroque. But the elaborate and balanced design, so firmly held by the great central arch in front of the architectural landscape, his idealised clearly defined figures, their grace and gravity, show the Classicist tendencies of Domenichino.

The subdued tonality, the sacramental dignity of the great picture are heightened by powerful chords of colour: the bright crimson of Jerome's loincloth, the dull gold of the ministering priest and the deacon's purple. The light from above illumines the grey withered flesh of the anchorite, plays brightest upon the joyful cherubs and



260. DOMENICHINO. *Landscape with fortified Buildings.* London, Denis Mahon Collection (photo: Courtesy Denis Mahon).

comes to rest upon the handsome acolyte. The religious emotion is reflected in the expressive gestures of the attendants.

In his Roman paintings Domenichino assimilated influences from Raphael and from Titian, but in one field he became himself a forerunner of other great masters : in the Classical landscape with figures, richly organised in the architectural build-up of all its elements. The *Landscape with Fortified Buildings* (in the collection of Denis 260 Mahon) is a masterpiece whose relation to Annibale Carracci's setting of the *Flight into Egypt* needs no emphasis. It is a Roman landscape with a prospect of the luminous sea and a great central pile of rocks and castle. The breathless beauty of southern shores, the hazy distances, the blue mountain peaks and framing trees will find their future poet in Claude Lorrain, while the architectural synthesis of Roman buildings and wooded folds in their gradations of warm greens and browns foreshadows the landscape art of Poussin. But if the design derives from Annibale, the Classical serenity and composure, the breadth and fragrance are Domenichino's. His heroic landscape with figures is the new genre of the seventeenth century, a unified architectural whole, an Arcadian aspect of nature, subsuming a wealth of colourful detail in the foreground, but reaching out to infinite distances, where azure mountains dream and melt into the limpid air.

The importance of Domenichino is in his balanced and spacious design, where forms have linear definition and figures are idealized and graceful. He is averse from painterly effects and movement. His Roman Classicism foreshadows Nicolas Poussin.

GIOVANNI LANFRANCO of Parma (1582–1647) was, with Domenichino, an assistant of Annibale Carracci during the latter's final years. But unlike Domenichino, he--as a true compatriot of Correggio—was attracted by the Baroque rather than the Classic potential of the Carraccesque movement. Lanfranco became the first great decorator of the fully developed Baroque in Rome with his airy and illusionistic cupola of Sant Andrea della Valle where a whirl of clouds and figures move in concentric circles. Through him the tradition of Correggio became part and parcel of the Baroque, with which it had so many affinities.

GUERCINO (1591–1666) was born in the small town of Cento, lost in the countryside midway between the flourishing artistic centres of Bologna and Ferrara. He was virtually self-taught, but freely confessed his debt to the example of an altarpiece in his native town which Lodovico Carracci had painted in 1591, the year of his birth. There is indeed a kinship between the earlier works of Lodovico and Guercino's interest during the first decade of his activity, in rich colours and powerful effects of light and shade. The latter characteristic, together with a propensity for the realistic portrayal of somewhat rustic models, has led to the supposition of Caravaggesque influence. But Guercino did not see the major works of Caravaggio until his visit to Rome in 1621, when his early style was already approaching its end. His type of atmospheric luminism is in fact different from Caravaggio's and is a typical North Italian and ultimately Venetian phenomenon. The use of simple types was 'in the air' at the time, though Caravaggio must have done much to render them more acceptable to contemporaries.

Guercino in his early works revealed a vigorous natural talent, instinctive and unschooled by precept. There is a feeling of movement and impermanence in these paintings, which is aided by his rendering of atmosphere and of mystery, and by his specks of light which tend to break up the individual forms and fuse them into the larger unit of the composition as a whole. A relative lack of sophistication did not, in the case of Guercino, mean a lack of breadth or even of dignity.

The National Gallery has two of the most expressive religious pictures of his early period, which illustrate these qualities and also Guercino's place in the Catholic Revival. The *Angels weeping over*

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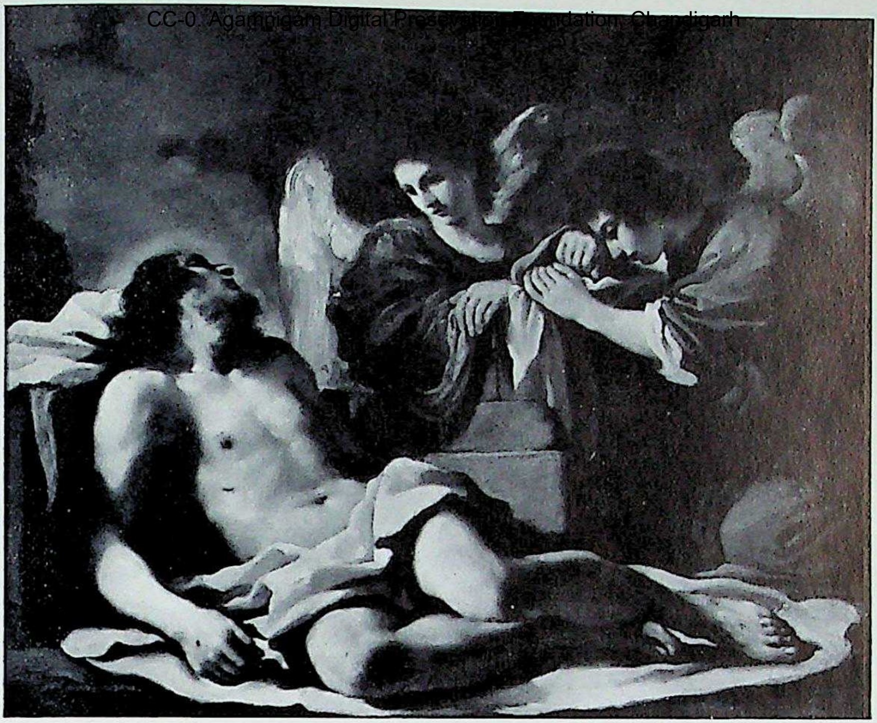
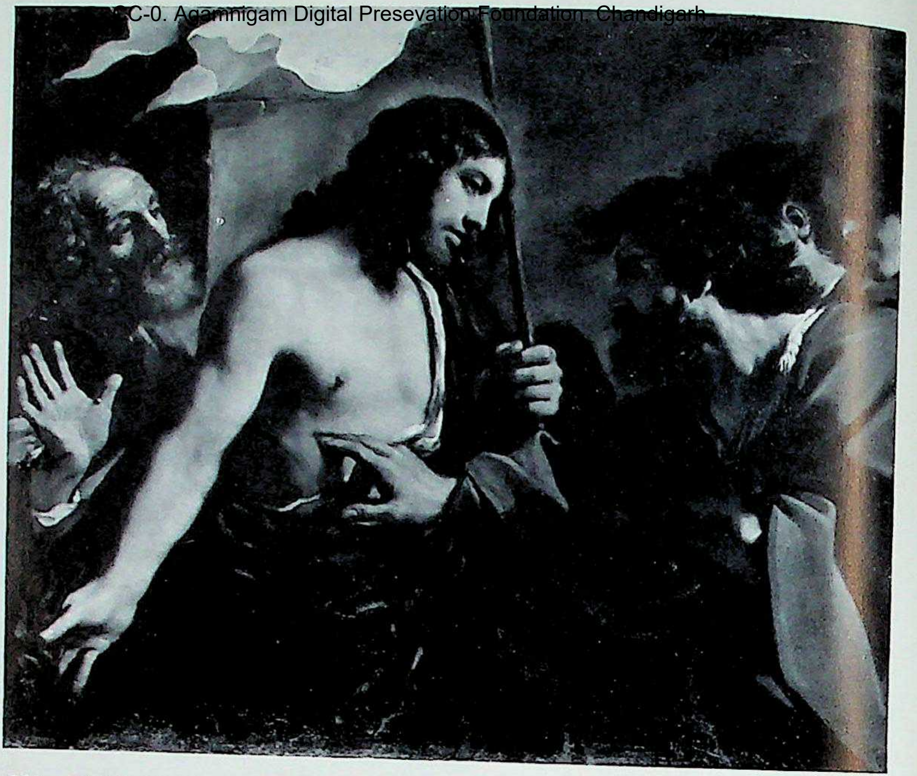


261. GUERCINO. *Angels weeping over the Dead Christ.* London, National Gallery (photo: National Gallery).

the dead Christ is a noble composition, expressing compassion without sentimentality. The soft flesh tones of Christ's recumbent body are modulated with the help of sfumato, and His radiance is contrasted by the gloomy background and by the vinous red and grey-purple of the Angels, whose wings are painted with a Venetian impasto. 261

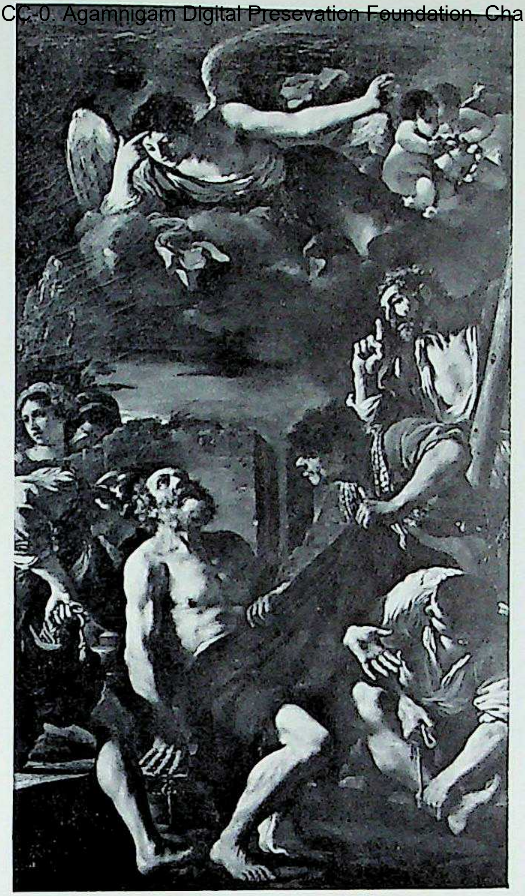
In the *Incredulity of Thomas* the hazy softness of the *Pietà* has yielded to a noble sense of form and of rich glowing colour, enhanced by the magic light and the neutral grey background. The dark blue of Christ's robe tells against the silvery radiance of His body, and the verve of Guercino's brush is felt in the voluminous folds of the Apostle's robe. An aura of light foils the smooth brown hair of Christ in contrast to the jet black curls of S. Thomas. The disciple behind Christ raises his palm in awe. The large hands are glowing with life, naturalistically portrayed, with wrinkled skin and shining surfaces. All the light is gathered upon the face and 262



262. GUERCINO. *Incredulity of Thomas.* London, National Gallery (photo: National Gallery).

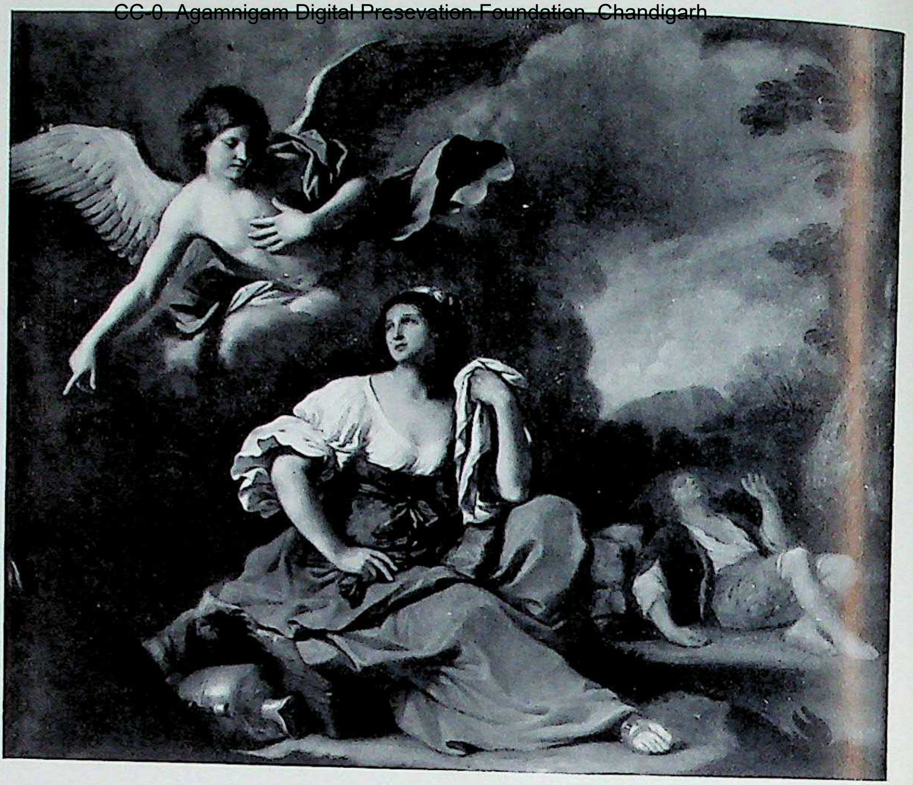
body of Christ and upon the expressive head and hand of the disciple behind Him—a spiritual and dramatic light which dissolves into shadow and half light and lends mystery to the scene. It seems to emanate from the upper right, skirting the group of Apostles behind Thomas and leaving the head of him in darkness who must touch in order to believe.

During 1621–23 Guercino worked in Rome, where he painted his famous fresco of the *Aurora* in her cloud borne chariot drawn by two powerful steeds, seen from below, a symposium of rich colour, movement and light. But it is by his great altarpieces for the Catholic devotion that Guercino won for himself a leading rôle in the Seicento. These are scattered throughout Italy and especially in the churches of his native Emilia. A fine example, still from his
263 early pre-Roman period, is the *Martyrdom of S. Peter* in the Galleria Estense at Modena. A vaporous blue veils the heavens from which a great floating angel beckons to Peter who suffers his last agony. Dark blue is also the colour of the mantle which a



263. GUERCINO. *Martyrdom of S. Peter.* Modena, Galleria Estense (photo: A. Villani & Figli).

ruffian pulls away from the ecstatic saint. The main vehicle of Guercino's early Baroque and anti-Classical way of composing is the light; his patchy, arbitrary light which picks out forms apparently at random and leaves part of the figures in darkness, connecting them with one another. This restless, impressionist light is strongest on the right half of S. Peter's athletic body and on the marble white of the angel's face; it skirts the plebeian countenance of the executioners and steeps the painterly contours of all figures into darkness, 'impairing their structural solidity and losing them in their environment' (Mahon). The composition descends to a deep hollow, a kind of triangular crater. S. Peter's executioners are brutal and unkempt savages. The naturalism of coarse legs with swelling veins



264. GUERCINO. *The Angel appearing to Hagar and Ishmael.* London, Denis Mahon Collection (photo: Courtesy Denis Mahon).

and muscles and enormous feet is emphasized by the concentration of light upon these parts, foiled by deep shadows, resulting in a monumentality greater than life. A splendid passage of paint is in the crinkled shirt of the young executioner. His turned head is seen from below. His ruddy face and neck are strongly foreshortened, his squatting posture is concentrated and compact. A Baroque vitality informs the acts of martyrdom; the exaltation of the Saint, the swoop of the angel, the spectacular gestures, the physical depth, the restless light and expressionist shadows make it into an eloquent manifestation of the Catholic revival.

Guercino's visit to Rome was a significant landmark in his career. There he became fully familiar with a language of expression diametrically opposed to that which he had hitherto employed; and from having been very much of a Baroque artist, he gradually veered in the direction of Classicism. His change of style, which seems to have begun at the end of his stay in Rome (1623) took a

considerable time to develop completely; the examples of the paintings of Domenichino and (later) Reni appear to have played some part in it. His pictures become lighter in tone, the individual forms more clearly defined, the compositions more balanced and logical—and much less broken up by violent contrasts of light and shade. This late, more sophisticated, style has a charm of its own which (as also with late Reni) must have appealed to the eighteenth century, particularly in England and France. A typical example is *The Angel appearing to Hagar and Ishmael* of 1652–3 in the 264
Mahon Collection.

In the soft raiment of the angel and of the melancholy Egyptian, lightly poised upon the rock, who has 'cast the child under one of the shrubs' is something of Reni's refined sense of beauty and exquisite elegance. The deep contrasts of light and shadow are now resolved into pastel like tones and silky sheen, a harmony of pale blue, bright red, russet and green, foiled by the dark drifting clouds and hazy atmosphere which softens all forms. The sensuous beauty of the figures and their compositional balance, the calculated poise of Hagar, re-echoed on a smaller scale in Ishmael and contrasted by the downward swoop and pointing hand of the angel, conform to the Classical tradition.

XXXV. THE REALIST REVOLUTION.

Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio.

CARAVAGGIO'S new realism is a reaction against the formalism of the Mannerists and the archaeological romanticism of the Classicists. In his plebeian types he scorns Classical grace and nobility. His naturalism is the antidote to the idealists of the School of Bologna. His strong light builds up forms of structural solidity and clear contours. In his youth he invents his own genre of half figures and still life. His stylistic development leads from mirror-like precision and daylight to the magical light and encroaching shadows of his maturity, which lend poignancy to his religious drama.

About the year 1590 or 1591 there appeared in Rome a young painter from the Milanese, poor, self-tutored and pugnacious who by the novelty of his vision and of his subjects was to challenge the Renaissance tradition of sacred and secular art. MICHELANGELO MERISI, a native of CARAVAGGIO near Bergamo, had been taught as a boy in Milan by a local master and trained his mind by studying such painters of the Veneto as were within reach in the Bergamasque province, and more especially Lorenzo Lotto, Savoldo, Moretto da Brescia, and Moroni. In a working life of no more than twenty years, interrupted by periods of riotous living and physical violence, Caravaggio caused a revolution in art, whose repercussions affected the greatest masters of the seventeenth century, from Frans Hals to Rembrandt and from Velazquez to Georges de la Tour.

The two main forces by which Caravaggio opposed the Mannerist modes of painting were his truthfulness to life and his new concept of light : his realism and his luminism. Like the scientific philosophers of his age, he had a burning passion for truth, a desire to pierce through the veil of appearances to the essence of things, and a dislike of formalism and mere decorum. He had come to destroy the Mannerist artifice, and he avoided too that romantic view of the past, so characteristic of the Classicists. In Rome he was just reaching maturity when Annibale Carracci decorated the Galléria Farnese with his mythological dreams and Baroque routs of Bacchus and Silenus. His realism was the antidote to the idealizing tendencies of certain of the Bolognese masters; nor did he make any contribution to the formation of the full Baroque style. He never painted in fresco and never overcame a certain inability to convey movement successfully.

Caravaggio's only link with the Classical age is his sense of form, his plasticity, his exclusive interest in the human figure, in which he resembles Masaccio and Michelangelo. An artist so self-willed, so spontaneous and independent had to invent his own visual language and his own genres of painting. Averse to the conventions of mythological and religious painting, and in order to attract new patrons in Rome, he chose his first subjects from his own experience, portraying the low-life world of street and tavern in his exquisite half-length figures and still life, attractive Roman youths with fruit or lute, cardsharpers and gipsies. Later, when he was favoured by Roman cardinals and noblemen, he painted religious subjects, but with such a sense of their actuality and such an emphasis on the poor and lowly folk of the Gospels, that he sometimes encountered difficulties with his church commissions, though rejected works were invariably bought by collectors and connoisseurs, who indeed included high ecclesiatics.

A new vehicle of expression which he developed was the light; 'not the light of nature but of art, revealing one form and concealing another' (Venturi) according to aesthetic necessity. An arbitrary light which often adumbrates spatial relationship and picks out the protagonists in dramatic contrast to the shaded parts of the composition, finally weakened his colours and his contours. But this magic of light is the result of Caravaggio's ripest style. In his early works he aims at realistic precision and daylight clarity, a *trompe-l'oeil* naturalism, where fruit and figures have the same value in the objective rendering of appearances.

When he represented *Bacchus,* he took a dark-eyed youth from 265
a Roman tavern and painted his portrait *dal naturale,* but with such a refinement of pictorial means—values of tone, plasticity, linear design and light—that the still life of boy and fruit is a masterpiece in the beauty and harmony of sheer existence. There is no story to tell, no action in the static picture; but the painterly realisation of the massive half-nude is perfect: his ivory body reclining in the silvery sheets, his cheeks flushed, his jet black hair with the shining grapes and sprawling vine leaves in all tints of autumn. Marchese Giustiniani reported Caravaggio's saying that 'it gave him as much trouble to paint a good picture of flowers as of figures.' He made credible the volume of bodies, the transparent beauty of glass, the shining roundness of fruit and the glossy outline of writhing leaves. He painted with utter refinement of tone the silvery cloth and the grey table, the stark shadow that falls from the simple bowl of red wine and the reflected lights in the glass, the

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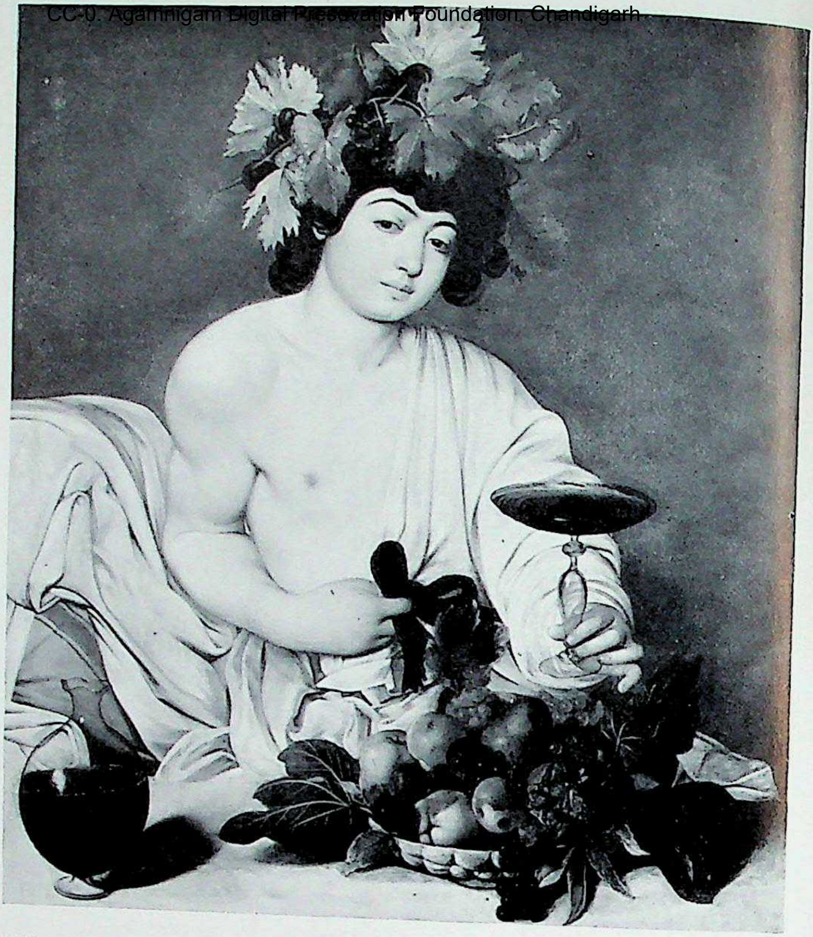
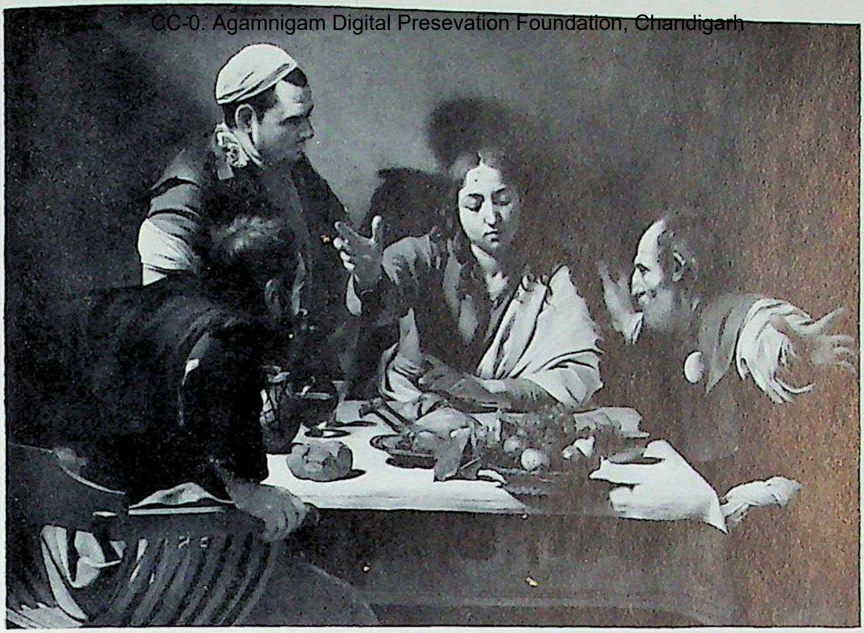


265. CARAVAGGIO. *Bacchus.* Florence, Uffizi (photo: Soprintendenza alle Gallerie di Firenze).

graceful stem of the chalice and the elliptic pattern of the bowl. But because it was customary for paintings to have a subject, he called his composition *Bacchus,* a Roman youth with well-arched brows and glittering pupils under the chestnut hair, a picture of ripeness and abundance.

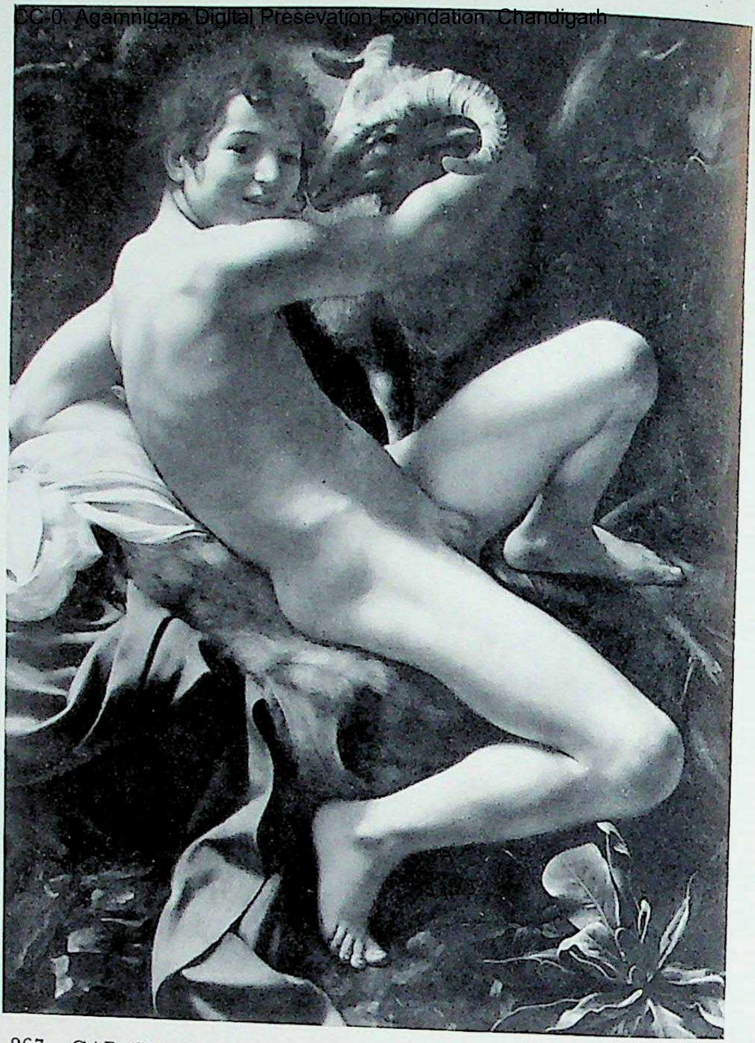
At Rome Caravaggio could not remain a painter of secular genre and, with the help of Cardinal del Monte who gave him refuge in his palace, he was soon to compete for the great ecclesiastic commissions. But if he must paint religious pictures, he would represent the protagonists of the Gospel as he saw them, the poor in spirit, the down trodden and humble, and not the hieratic aristocrats of



266. CARAVAGGIO. *Supper at Emmaus.* London, National Gallery (photo: National Gallery).

the Roman Church; he would transfer his portrait-realism into sacred pictures and draw his apostolic types from the streets of Rome. He would give them plasticity of bodies and then exalt them with the magic light of his art.

He conceived the *Supper at Emmaus* as a tavern scene, with a 266 beardless Christ revealing the Scriptures to excited companions, sitting at a table decked with the familiar requisites of his still lifes: the fruit basket precariously balanced at the edge, the withering leaves, the yellow grapes, beside the golden crusted bread and the incongruous fowl on a platter. But a change of vision had occurred to Caravaggio during his early years at Rome. His protagonists are no longer bathed in the dazzling daylight, but emerge in dramatic accents of light from the penumbra of a room in the inn. Caravaggio's light plays arbitrarily upon the disciples' foreheads, picking out the smooth boyish countenance of Christ and enhancing the tension of the protagonists in contrast with the impassive portrait-character of the host. Caravaggio's illusionism of form now amounts to bravura in the way depth is suggested by arms and hands thrust into space, the firmness and solidity of all shapes and the ghostly



267. CARAVAGGIO. *S. John the Baptist in the Desert.* Rome, Capitol (photo: Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale).

shadow on the wall behind Christ. He presents *Supper at Emmaus* without sacramental overtones: not the breaking of the bread, but a wandering preacher addressing a conventicle of labouring men in the shock of surprise.

Probably about the same time as the *Supper at Emmaus,* around the year 1599, in a period of transition from the still life style of his youth to a more dramatic handling of the human figure, Caravaggio painted a boy with a ram, who came to be called *S. John the*

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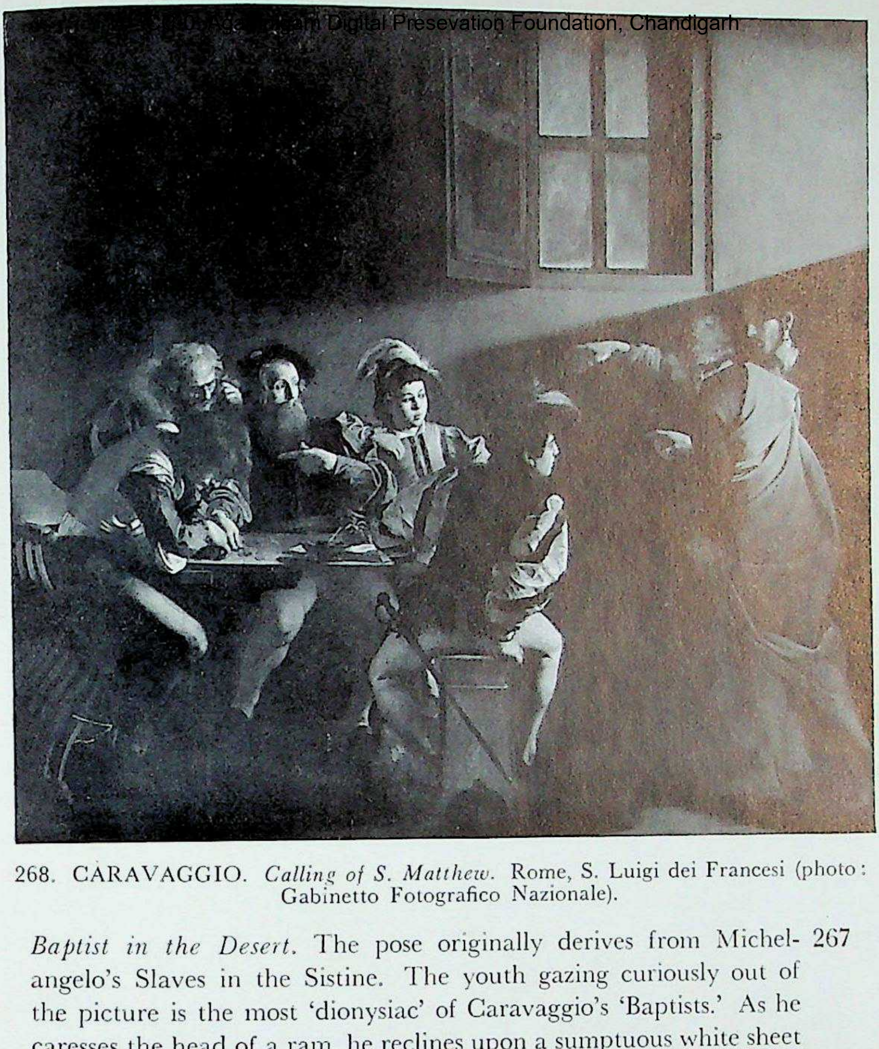
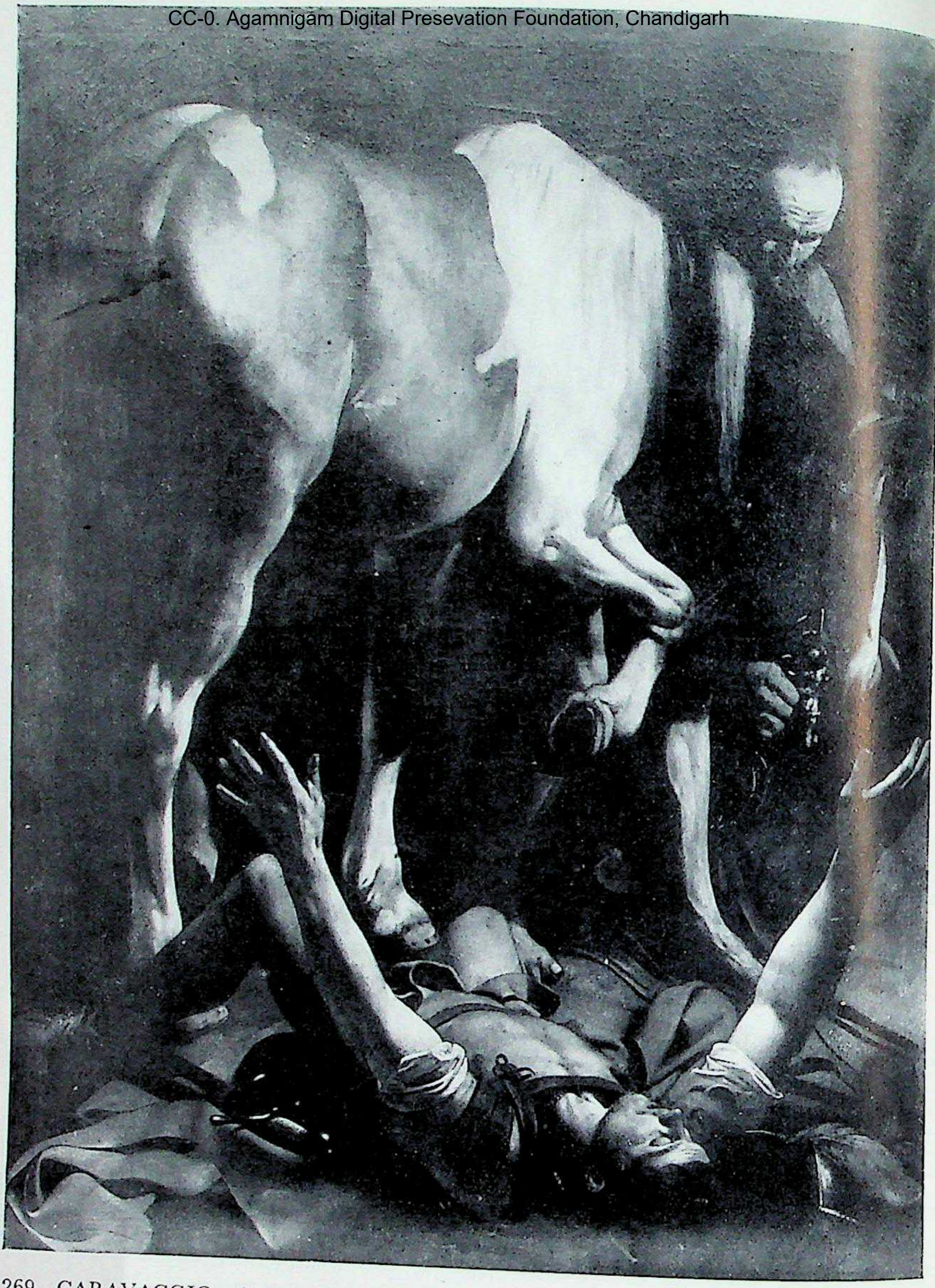


268. CARAVAGGIO. *Calling of S. Matthew.* Rome, S. Luigi dei Francesi (photo: Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale).

Baptist in the Desert. The pose originally derives from Michelangelo's Slaves in the Sistine. The youth gazing curiously out of the picture is the most 'dionysiac' of Caravaggio's 'Baptists.' As he caresses the head of a ram, he reclines upon a sumptuous white sheet beneath which is another of dull rose. His shoulders and taut thighs are well lit, but his torso is in the shadow, brown shadow which merges with the light. His smiling face is rose coloured, modelled in chiaroscuro. This shining form emerges in full relief from an impenetrable dark olive green thicket with a writhing plant edged with light. The youth seems to be painted after the same model as the *Amor Vincitore* in Berlin, and his pose and expression are as challenging and as alluring. 'What Caravaggio has done' wrote Denis Mahon, 'is to place a living model in as recognizably a Michelangelesque pose as could be sustained and paint him as a 267



269. CARAVAGGIO. *Conversion of Paul.* Rome, S. M. del Popolo (photo: Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale).

State Museum, LUCKNOW

kind of genre figure of a youth seated on a rock with his pet animal. Monumental genre, with a facetious and equivocal twist.'

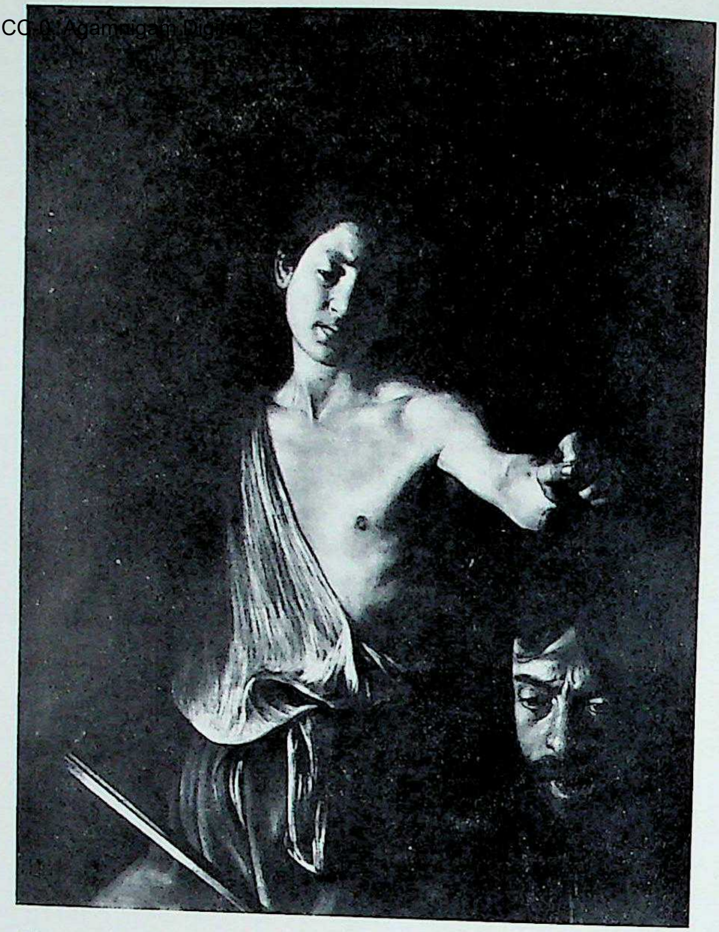
The highlights of this middle period of Caravaggio are the two large lateral pictures in the Contarelli Chapel of San Luigi dei Francesi at Rome, presenting stories from the life of S. Matthew. Denis Mahon has emphasized that in the *Calling of S. Matthew* 268 Caravaggio employs for the first time the powerful lateral light to give accent, cohesion and movement to a picture which in its human types and costumes still recalls the romantic gallants of his earlier cardsharpers and soldiers of fortune.

Caravaggio has placed the scene amidst gamblers and money-lenders sitting at table, playing dice or counting their gain. These dandyish ruffians in multi-coloured doublet, tight hose and plumed hat are the underlings of S. Matthew, himself refined like a Venetian nobleman. This worldly gathering, a monumental group, is set in a street, as has been recently shown : attractive Roman boys and their elders, familiar with vice and violence, the boon companions of dissolute living.

The rather sinister alley-way is steeped in darkness. Light skirts the opaque window. But this is not the source of the great beam of artificial light which strikes down from the right and passes along the wall behind the men at the table, illuminating the face of the pretty youth and coming to rest upon the Apostle who, with pointing hand seems to answer a call inaudible to the others : 'Lord, is it I?' For in the deep shadow on the extreme right Christ beckons to S. Matthew with the commanding gesture of His arm suspended in the air, so that the light only illuminates His hand and the lower part of His face. Two of the gamblers remain unaware of the apparition; but the bright youth with the firm oval face and reddish tints, who leans upon the Apostle's shoulder, looks towards Christ in wonder.

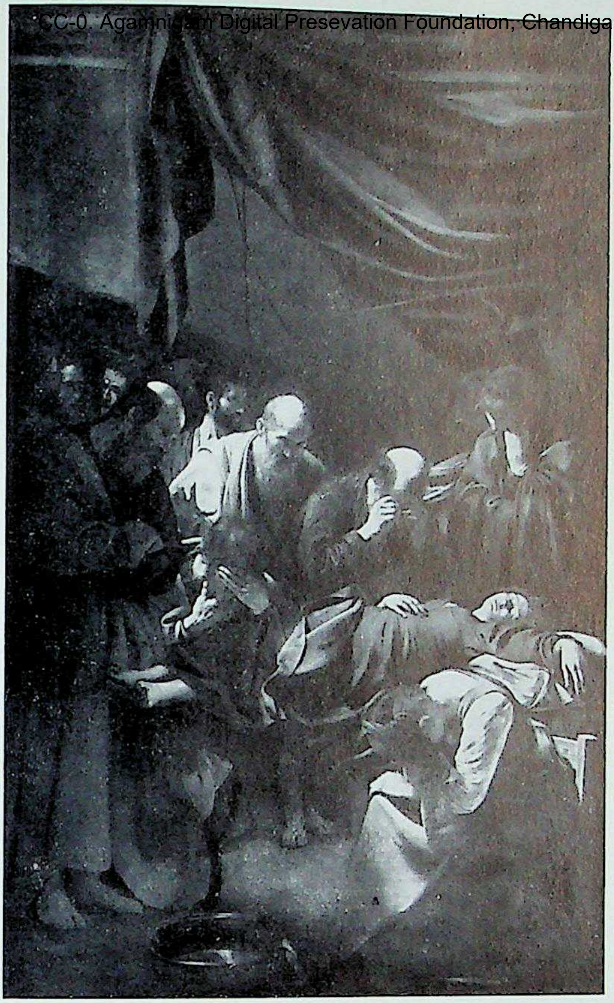
Caravaggio's philosophy of light has come to fruition. It is not the light of day or of night, but the spiritual light which lends dramatic momentum to the religious event; light which we call magic, because its source is not explained and its logic is hidden, a transcendental force which pierces the shadows and picks out the salient points of the story. This metaphysical light needs no natural justification. It is Caravaggio's most vital discovery, an aesthetic abstraction which he uses at will to transform the worldlings' back street into a place where the divine is made manifest.

Shortly afterwards, in 1600–1601, Caravaggio painted for the Cerasi Chapel of Santa Maria del Popolo the *Conversion of Paul* 269



270. CARAVAGGIO. *David with the Head of Goliath.* Rome, Galleria Borghese (photo: Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale).

and the *Crucifixion of Peter*. In the former he frees himself from all distracting elements of genre in a grandiose concentration on true facts: the huge piebald horse which has thrown its rider who, dazed by the light from above, lies groping, rigid, dumbfounded upon the red trappings on which he has fallen. The religious drama is wrapped in the darkness of the undefined background, though the shining plasticity of the horse, the tangled pattern of arms and legs enhance the illusion of depth. The simplicity of invention, the stark contrast between the dumb beast and the spiritual experience of the Apostle, struck blind by his vision, has an unparalleled, dynamic power although movement and space are



271. CARAVAGGIO. *Death of the Virgin.* Paris, Louvre (photo: Alinari).

restricted and the monumental still life of figures is enlivened chiefly by the mysterious light.

The sadness, the despair even of Caravaggio's vagrant life, punctuated by homicide, imprisonment and hair-breadth escapes in the intervals of inspired and feverish work, and a streak of violence are revealed in his choice of subjects: the *Flagellation of Christ,* the *Decapitation of S. John the Baptist, Judith beheading Holofernes,* and *David with the Head of Goliath.* This last is painted in the **270** monochrome of his last years, where a tortured face and a radiant body with contours diffused by shadows, emerge from the darkest penumbra. The adolescent hero holds the giant's head suspended, saddened and ill at ease, his gleaming sword in his invisible hand. Goliath is perhaps a portrait of the painter, distraught and swarthy, but more autobiographical still is the expression of David, who looks 'bitterly unhappy,' despairing in victory, regretful and weary.

Then, towards the end of his Roman stay (cut short by an act of homicide in 1606), Caravaggio painted what is perhaps his supreme 271 religious picture: *The Death of the Virgin.* His stark, but in the last analysis deeply reverent conception was misunderstood by the clergy of Santa Maria della Scala, who rejected it as lacking in decorum; but on Rubens' strong recommendation it was immediately acquired by the Duke of Mantua. Here the light from above creates and conceals figures, the swollen rigid body of the Virgin, the sorrowing apostles with their bald heads and workaday hands, and the beautiful form of the Magdalena 'broken with grief.' Caravaggio is most successful when treating a subject in terms of stillness rather than motion. Each of the mourners around the deathbed of Mary is infinitely lonely in his despair, each has his own sorrowing gesture and the atmosphere is one of 'stately solemnity.' The procession starting from the depth of the room reaches its tragic climax in the figures nearest to the bier and resolves in the monumental statuary of individuals frozen in grief. These are greater than life and intensely moving by dint of their unembellished veracity.

Caravaggio was still to paint some of his greatest religious pictures, the Naples *Scourging of Christ,* the *Raising of Lazarus* in Messina and the Malta *Decollation of the Baptist,* where the realism of his youth is transformed in a symbolic shorthand of figures, a barrenness of space, absorbed by shadows, distorted by light. Yet this world of martyrs and executioners is as mystical as El Greco's and as solid as Masaccio's.

In the history of art Caravaggio occupies a position of great consequence. As a result of his contribution Caravaggesque painters sprang up everywhere, though the real depth and scope of his work could not be grasped and assimilated immediately. The reverberations of his new attitude spread rapidly beyond Italy, and more especially to the Netherlands—the School of Utrecht—France and elsewhere. In Rome Gentileschi and Saraceni derived from Caravaggio's early period. He had a considerable following in Naples, largely based on the late works which he left there. Carracciolo was one of the first and most impressive of his followers there, which also included the great Spaniard Jusepe de Ribera. Indeed in Naples there grew up a school whose lineage was ultimately traceable back to him, even when transformed by later generations and fresh blood, as the delicate Cavallino and the Guercinesque Mattia Preti. Thus it was Caravaggio's achievement to have changed the whole artistic climate of Europe to such an extent that the great European masters mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, owe him a real if distant debt.

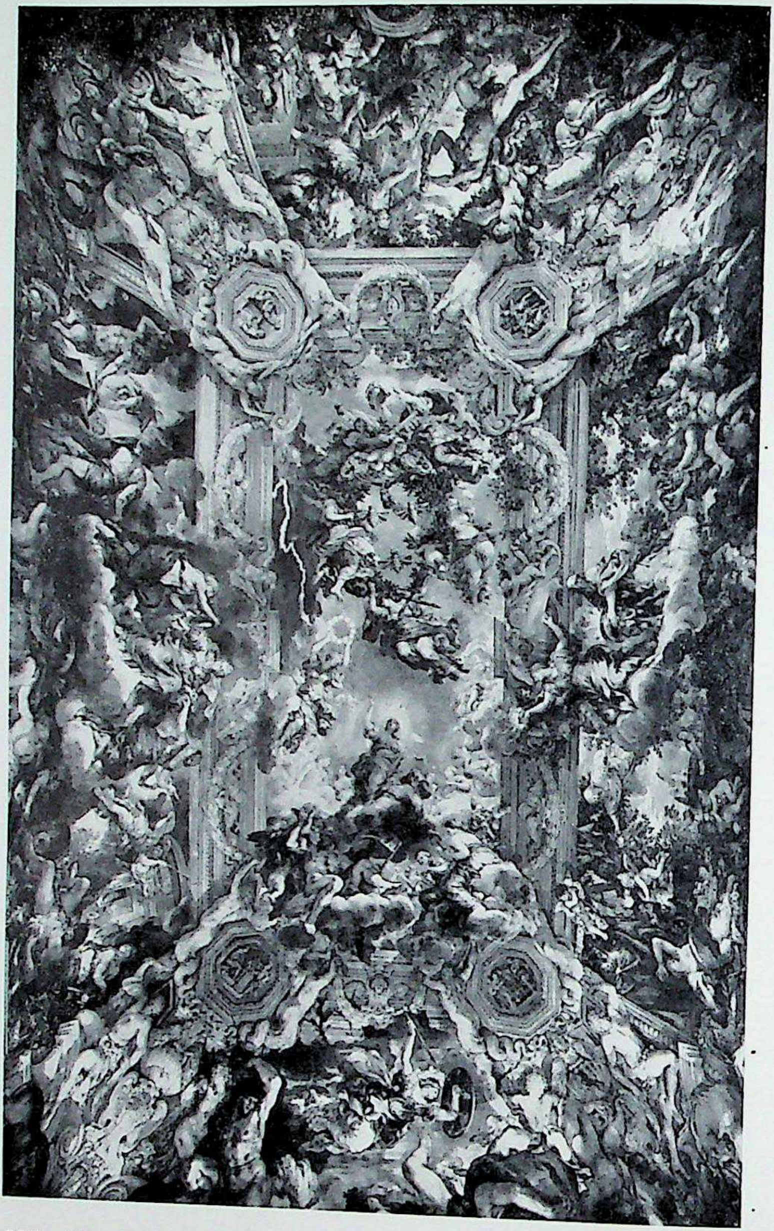
XXXVI. THE FULL BAROQUE.

Cortona — Sacchi — Maratta — Strozzi — Castiglione — Rosa — Gaulli — Pozzo — Giordano.

Baroque painting is massive, spectacular, dynamic and illusionistic. It favours continuous movement of dramatic figures into the depth of space. The emotional impulse of this theatrical art which uses painting to evoke sculptural and architectural deceptions and the luministic illusion of Infinity comes from the ecstatic religion of the Counter Reformation. Its chief protagonists in large scale decorations were PIETRO DA CORTONA, BACICCIO, PADRE POZZO, and LUCA GIORDANO. Their attitude towards landscape and the Antique tends towards the romantic.

Baroque painting in Italy reaches its fullness in seventeenth century Rome, and becomes in the Barberini Ceiling by PIETRO DA 272
CORTONA an apotheosis of all its elements. It belongs to the first phase of the anti-Classical movement, propelled by the new wave of apologetic religion; a massive, spectacular, illusionistic art, which worked upon the senses and the emotions by all the visual deceptions of the stage. To the ordered cosmos and equilibrium of Classical art it opposed the dynamic eruptions and the strenuous ecstasies of continuous movement; to static dignity and confined space it opposed a new vision of the Infinite, a fanatic desire to thrust into depth by means of violently foreshortened bodies surging upwards in a blaze of light. 'The plane,' wrote Heinrich Wölfflin, 'is devalued by a sequence of figures and by accents of light.' The illusion of depth becomes most effective when it is expressed as movement, and the Baroque uses plastic and pictorial means to cast moving crowds into the third dimension.

In the Barberini Ceiling (1635–39) Pietro da Cortona, vying with Michelangelo's Sistine and with Annibale Carracci's Galleria Farnese, organised the enormous vault according to its architectural



272. PIETRO DA CORTONA. *The Triumph of Divine Providence.* Rome, Ceiling in the Barberini Palace (photo: Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale).

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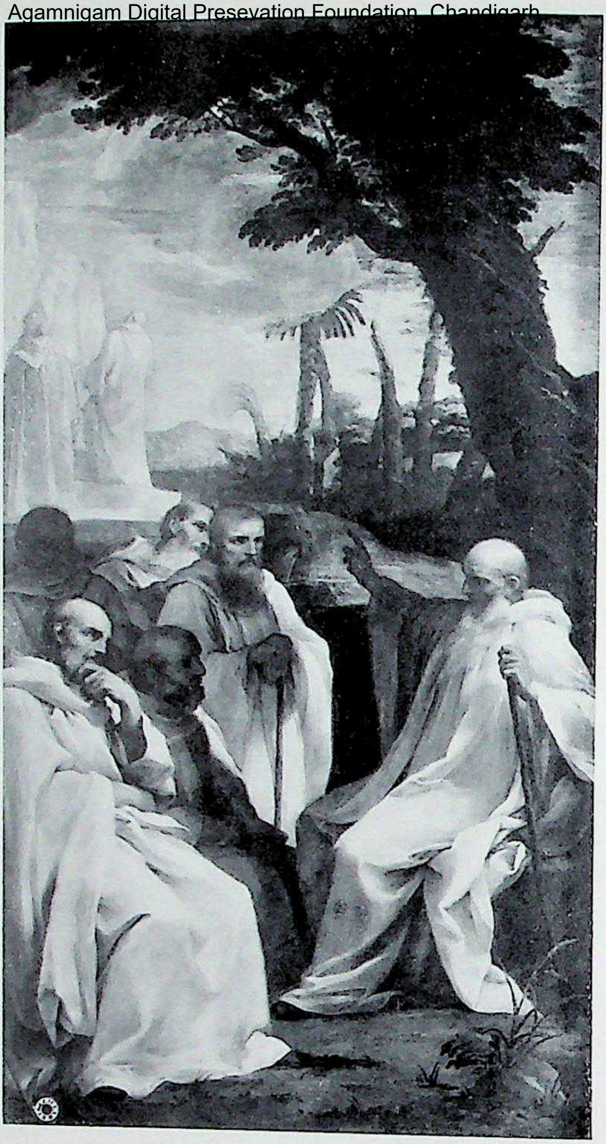
form and created monumental effects by the dramatic accumulation of masses in movement. The result is a Wagnerian build-up of heroic figures and mythological scenes which have their luministic centre in the glorification of Divine Providence—and of the House of Barberini. Here the allegorical figures surge up into the aerial space, the Heavens burst open, and in a golden blaze of light female impersonations of the Christian Virtues float in the celestial void, crowning the Goddess of Providence with huge garlands.

In the four corners of the ceiling are huge medallions borne by caryatides, and Annibale Carracci's model is everywhere remembered. But this is the height of the Baroque, and the agglomeration of figures has become vaster and heavier, indeed gigantic. The colours too are no longer pastel shades, but rich and opulent, with splendid whites and opalescent blues and purple and gold. But above all it is the rhythmical movement and amplitude of figures, the convolution of robes and the mountains of clouds which convey the grandiloquence of the Baroque. It is indeed an Italian equivalent of Rubens, on a scale somewhat larger than he ever had an opportunity to employ. Beneath the central field are airy landscapes with mythological scenes, where amidst foliage and fountains Venus reclines or Silenus feasts among satyrs. More boisterous are the *Forge of Vulcan* or the *Fall of the Giants,* and here the Baroque sense of the colossal, where a celestial warrior hurls down the toppling giants, seems to overreach itself in the materialism of coarse bodies and sprawling limbs. The Barberini Ceiling is conceived on a monumental scale and in an orgy of the imaginative faculties and of the senses. It is the expression of a new life-force which found its pictorial equivalent in symphonic decorations of unheard of power and magnitude. The Baroque is a style in which painting, sculpture and architecture combine to produce a total illusionism of form, reflecting the highest aspirations of the age, Antique as well as Christian, and its curiously sensuous yearning for the Infinite.

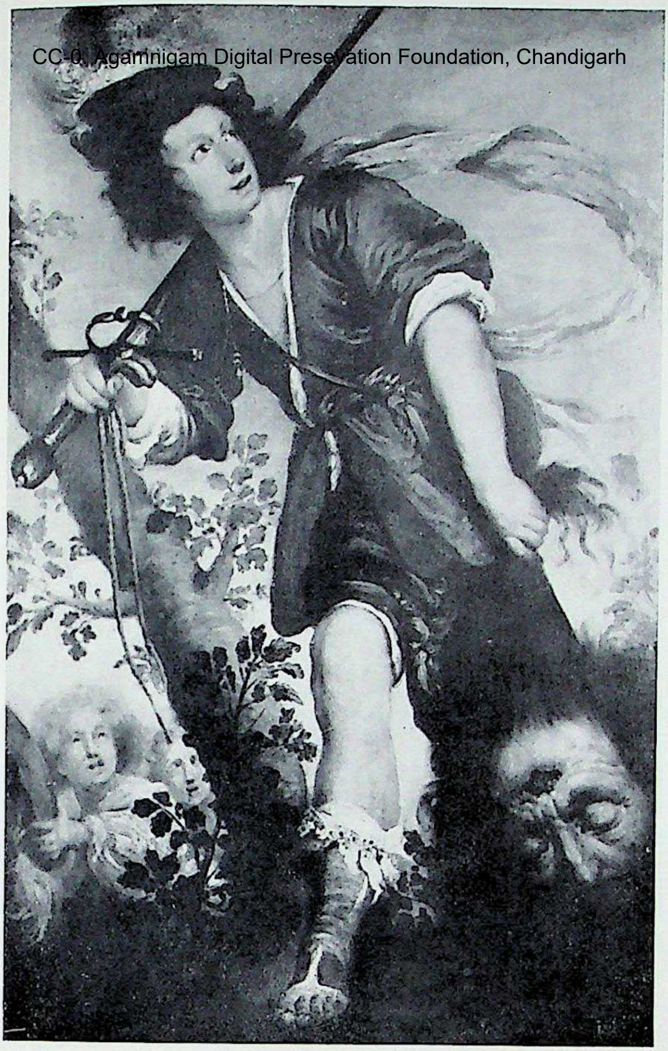
But beside the work of Cortona and his followers there was in seventeenth century Rome also a more restrained and sober form of Baroque decoration. The Classical element stemming from the late Annibale Carracci, inspired ANDREA SACCHI and his pupil Carlo Maratta, to oppose Cortona's creative fury by a greater clarity and simplicity of composition. Moreover, he had been to Venice and made his own the tonal atmosphere and rich colour of the Venetians. His masterpiece is the *S. Romuald* of the Vatican 273 Gallery; and here, in a landscape made wide and airy by tonal gradation, beneath the Titianesque trees, painted with a full and



273. ANDREA SACCHI. *S. Romuald*. Vatican (photo: Anderson).

saturated brush, the ponderous figures of the white monks of Camaldoli are grouped around the old recluse.

In a balanced composition like this, the Baroque element, apart from the distant figures ascending inwards and upwards as if on Jacob's ladder, resides in the very quality of paint which constructs volumetrical folds and writhing trees. The tempestuous whirl of



274. BERNARDO STROZZI. *David with the Head of Goliath.* D. G. van Beuningen Collection.

Cortona's inventions is overcome in the quiet stance and equilibrium of weighty figures, and Sacchi infuses into the High Baroque a measure of Classical dignity and calm. These large white figures, slow moving and a little austere, are bound together by the same spirit and unified by the same compositional rhythm. Their varied expressions of listening and meditation have been observed with meticulous care.

CARLO MARATTA (1625–1713), Sacchi's pupil, who after the death of Bernini became the artistic dictator of Rome, guided the creative vitality of the movement into more academic channels. With an 'ample rhythmic sweep' of his mellifluous figures, derived from Raphael, he endeavoured to oppose the Baroque exuberance of Cortona and Baciccio. Maratta had a sense of design and decorum and prepared the way for the neo-Classicism of the eighteenth century. He was much esteemed as a portraitist for his aristocratic refinement and grandeur.

Genoa and Naples were besides Rome the chief centres of the Full Baroque in Italy. The Genoese BERNARDO STROZZI (1581–1664), who settled in Venice in middle life (1631), must be accounted one of its forerunners. His affinities were with Rubens and Van Dyck, and above all with the great Venetians of the sixteenth century, from whom he took his rich impasto and his vigorous modelling. In addition he developed naturalistic tendencies, being affected by the Caravaggesque movement. In his splendid *David with the Head* 274 *of Goliath* in the Van Beuningen Collection, painted after Strozzi had moved to Venice, the young hero appears on the brow of the hill, dragging the giant head by the hair. As in Veronese's *Baptist* in the Borghese, figures appear lower down in the middle distance, and the tree bends back into space. It is a striking, slightly mannered invention, superbly painted in rich opalescent colour. David wears a russet smock over olive green hose and a red beret with plumes. A golden sash is fluttering in the blue sky. His strong limbs are modelled in the round, like the tree whose grey bark is briskly painted with spiral brush strokes. Thick leafage throws a strong pattern and fades away in the diaphanous air. The boy and the tree, though they point in different directions form one diagonal movement, balanced by the great sword which he has slung across his shoulder. Though Strozzi's David is a little coarse and aggressive, by his vitality, his movement and his festive colour harmony, it is a masterpiece of the North Italian Baroque.

In Genoa, where Strozzi had been born, a colourful and lively school of full Baroque painters arose and, as the century wore on, elaborate fresco decorations of great freedom became a feature in Genoese palaces and churches. Foremost among the Baroque painters of Genoa, though not himself a frescoist, was G. B. CASTIGLIONE (1610–1665), who started under Flemish naturalist and Bassanesque influences as a painter of animal genre, but became in Rome a painter of romantic mythology and the religious Baroque. There Castiglione underwent the influence of a group in which love of Venetian (above all, Titianesque) colour and romanticism was paramount. This group included such artists as the great Frenchman

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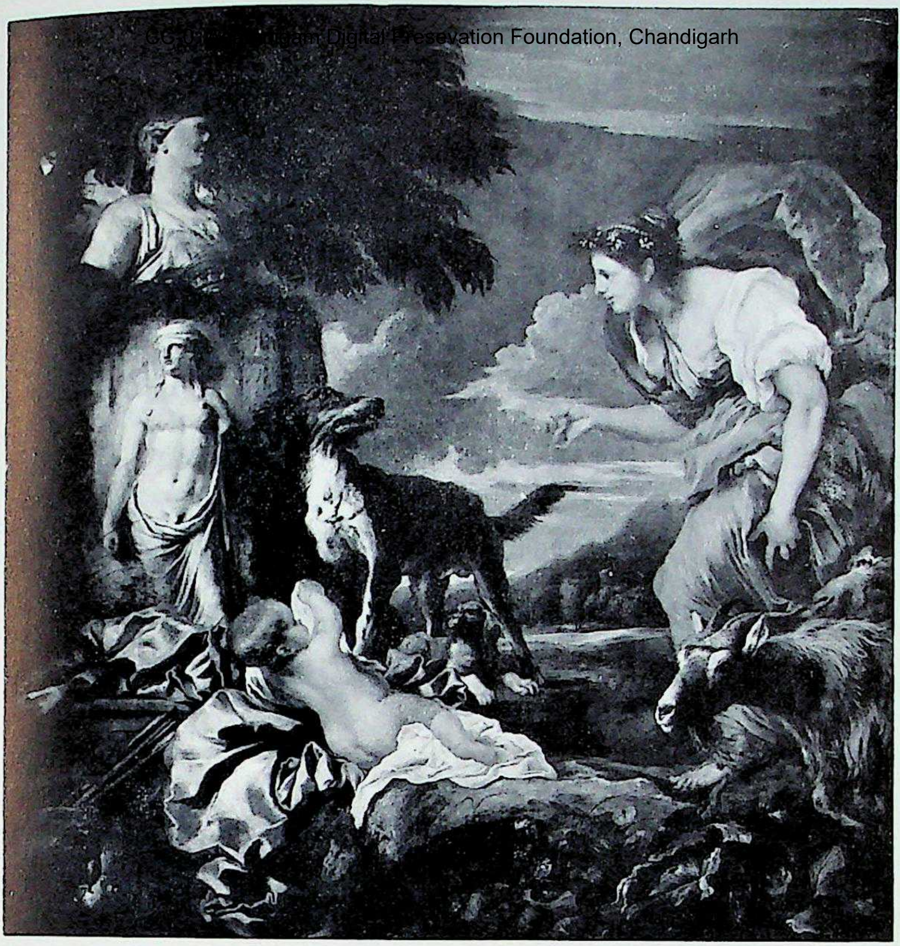
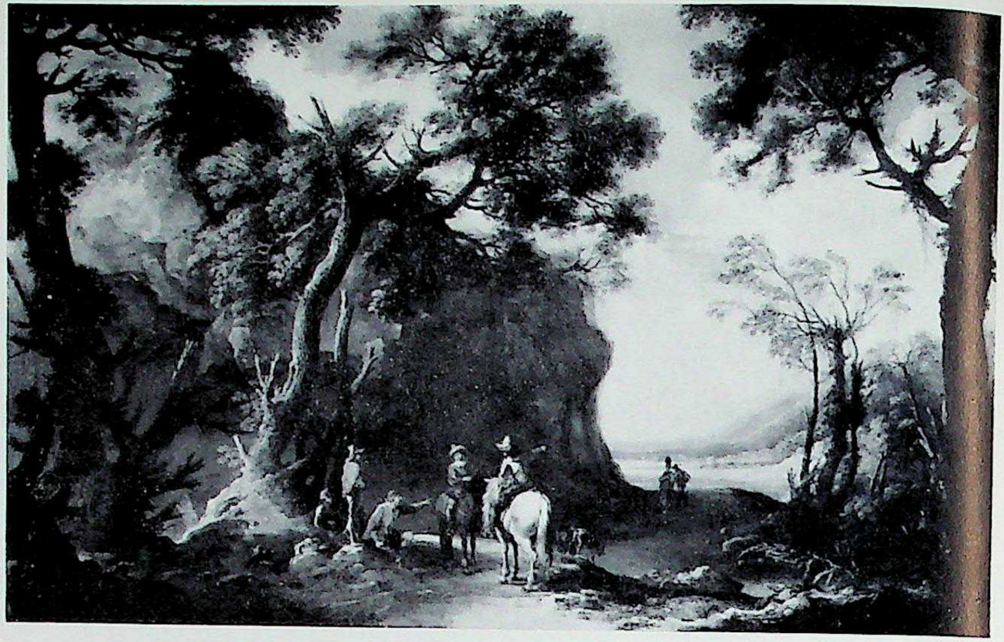


275. G. B. CASTIGLIONE. *Discovery of Cyrus.* Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland (photo: Courtesy of National Gallery of Ireland).

NICOLAS POUSSIN, during the sixteen thirties, and PIER FRANCESCO MOLA, whose attractive landscapes show a mixture of Venetian and Guercinesque influences. Later on, Castiglione's compositions became closely akin to those of Bernini. The slightly younger painter, Salvator Rosa (1615–1673), who intermittently worked in Rome from 1635, was affected by the picturesque genre of Castiglione.

A characteristic work of Castiglione's middle period is the *Discovery of Cyrus* at Dublin, where in a Venetian landscape of great 275 colouristic beauty amidst Antique statues and ruins, a lively dramatic action shows a synthesis of elements from Rubens and from Poussin. Castiglione's earlier preoccupation with animals and still life is now



276. SALVATOR ROSA. *Landscape with Travellers asking the Way.* London, Denis Mahon Collection (photo: Courtesy Denis Mahon).

countered by that with the human figure, and upon the Classical elements of the composition is grafted a lively Baroque movement and flaming colour. The figures are laid in with great fluency, and the vitality of the brush, the warmth of tone, the brilliant flesh and the opalescent beauty of stuffs denote an artist who knew how to combine an original vision with the best that seventeenth century Rome had to offer.

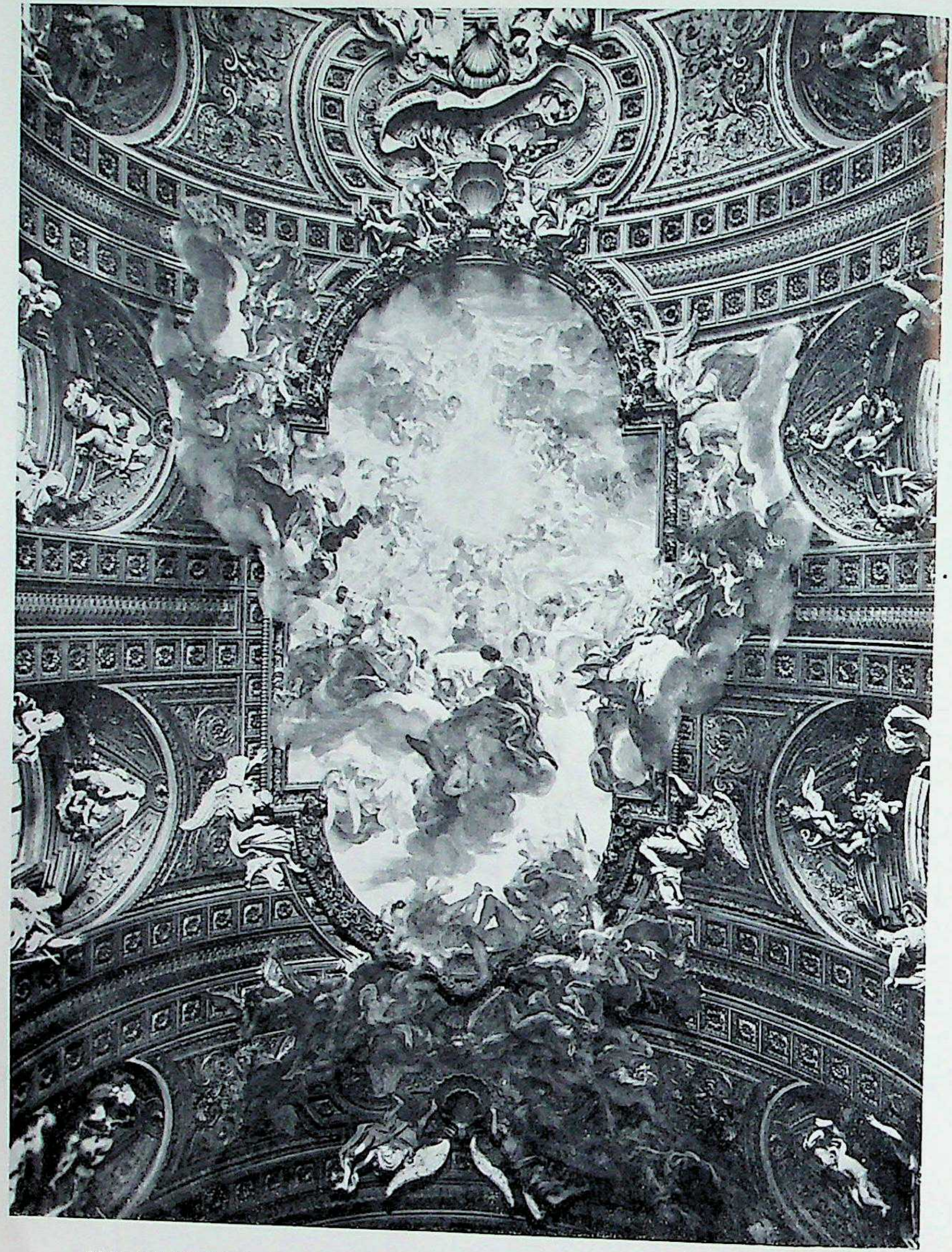
In contrast to the idealised serenity of the Classical landscape SALVATOR ROSA reflects the romantic side of untamed nature. He was a passionate Neapolitan, accomplished musician and man of letters, brought up in the Caravaggesque ambience of Ribera, who painted historic and biblical subjects and above all picturesque landscape vistas. As the Classicists transformed the wildness of nature into a garden landscape of organised beauty, so Rosa selected aspects of elemental nature to play on the romantic emotions of fear and wonder. Bandits or mounted soldiers lurk in picturesque valleys or impenetrable wood interiors, and rocky mountains over-
276 hang crumbling bridges. A *Landscape with Travellers asking the Way* in the Collection of Denis Mahon is an early example, in which the figures show the influence of Dutch painters of Low Life

working in Rome. Here the rocky hillside falls steeply away into the sunlit valley dreaming peacefully in the distance, a luminous foil for the fine tree silhouettes framing the entrance to the wood. By contrast the savage gorge with dead branches and sprawling tree trunks, the impenetrable thicket of wild nature, is the more threatening. Rosa seeks out aspects of chaotic nature with realistic truth, heightening its effects of gloom by shafts of light and specks of bright colour. His rich and graded pigment evokes the sunlit folds of the Roman Campagna, layers of juicy green and shimmering blue, and also the ochre foliage tipped with light, cyclopic rocks and splintered trees and stagnant pool. As an artist of the Baroque he prefers irregular shapes, dark masses and ghostly light, and his romantic imagination reverberates not only in Magnasco's wood interiors, but throughout the eighteenth century, especially in England.

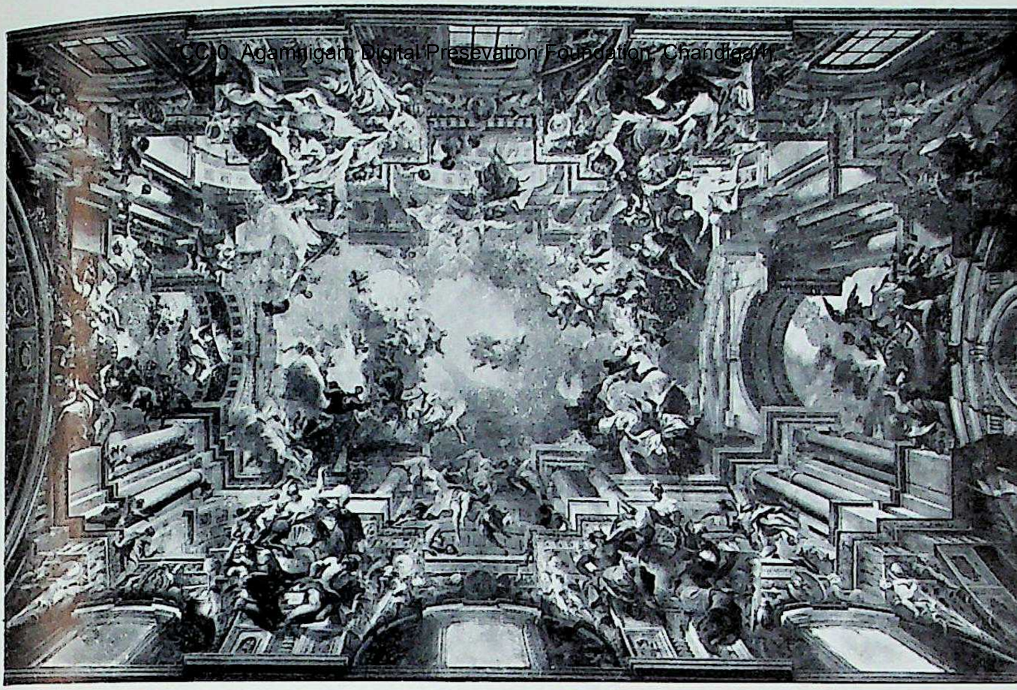
Perhaps the greatest painter of the religious Baroque was the Genoese G. B. GAULLI, called BACICCIO (1639–1709), the painter of the ceiling in the Jesuit Church at Rome. Formed by the study of 277
Barocci and Rubens, he had come to Rome as a boy of eighteen, where the ageing Bernini influenced him deeply. In 1661 he studied Correggio in Parma and returned to Rome, ready for the supreme task of decorating Il Gesù (1669–1683). Forty years had elapsed since Pietro da Cortona's Barberini ceiling, and Jesuit doctrine had been evolved to inspire painters with the idea that the vault of the church represented the very heavens. Baciccio no longer divided the ceiling into structural compartments. For him the aerial conquest of the Empyrean and the refined sensual elegance of his angelic figures, invisibly propelled into the upper spaces, was perfected by the Rubensian richness of his palette and the illusionism of *controluce*.

In Baciccio's ceiling in the nave of Il Gesù the heavenly host surges triumphantly into the golden light of the Empyrean. And here the impulse of soaring bodies and tortuous robes, the skill of foreshortening and the silhouetting of figures against the light are such, that weight and density are denied, and the flight moves across cornices where painted and stucco figures alternate, and through the airy vault of the church into the boundless ether. Baciccio's *Triumph of the Name of Jesus* is also the triumph of the Baroque painter: a perfect make-believe in the reality of the Christian Heaven.

After Baciccio it was ANDREA POZZO (1642–1709) who advanced into the ultimate regions of Baroque illusionism by obliterating the

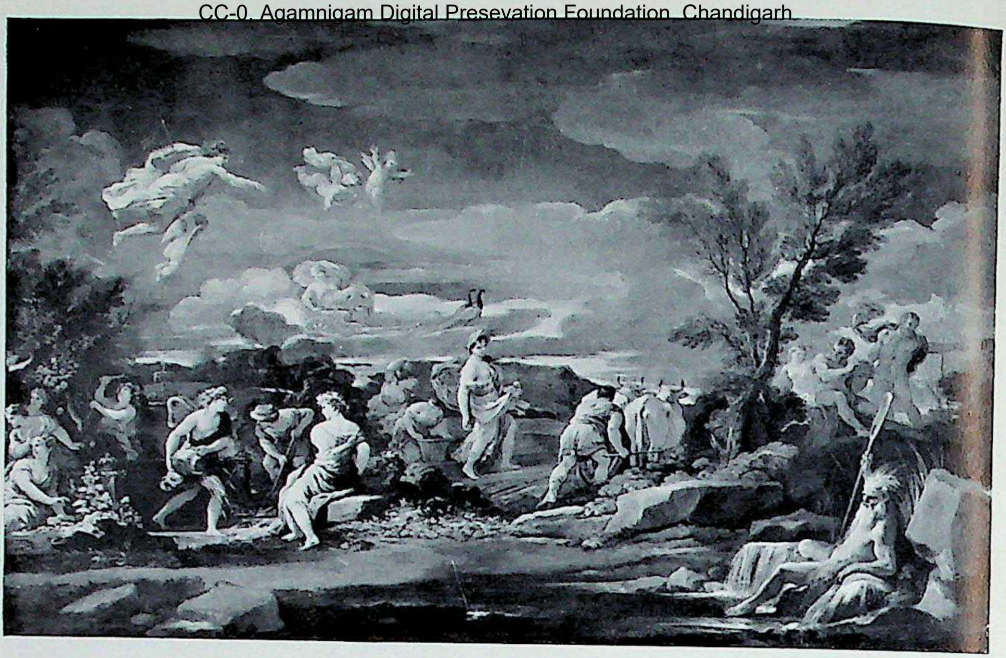


277. BACICCIO. Ceiling in the Church of Il Gesù in Rome (photo: Alinari).



278. ANDREA POZZO. Ceiling of S. Ignatius, Rome (photo: Anderson).

last borders between painted and real structures. He was an architectural scenographer, a painter of the theatrum sacrum, who, by his cunning use of perspective could make a small church look like a great cathedral. He had been brought up in the Jesuit Order and in 1681 was called to Rome to decorate the whole Church of S. Ignatius with frescoes, creating the most gigantic *trompe l'oeil* of the century. 'This is the logical continuation of Baciccio's ceiling in the Gesù,' wrote E. K. Waterhouse of the enormous ceiling fresco of the nave (1691–1694); 'stucco has disappeared altogether and 278 the fresco comes right down to the great flat band of moulding which runs along the top of the sidewalls of the nave.' Padre Pozzo with splendid artifice and bold perspective, continued the architecture of the Church by the illusionistic painting of giant arches and foreshortened columns, rising up with concentrated momentum into the Empyrean. He created a wholly imaginary space, opening the Church to the vault of Heaven, where the celestial fire radiates around Christ bearing the Cross, and God the Father holding the Globe. Beneath them, borne by angels upon banks of clouds, is S. Ignatius, the founder of the Jesuit Order, who sent his missionaries to the four corners of the earth. As he rules triumphantly in



279. LUCA GIORDANO. *Allegory of Agriculture.* London, Denis Mahon Collection (photo: Courtesy Denis Mahon).

Heaven, so the four continents are represented below in symbolical figures, rising upwards on the strength of their faith. Padre Pozzo painted this ambitious concept in a glory of colour and light, where amidst clouds and azure, above a magnificent forecourt, the celestial personages reside in an ideal space.

With LUCA GIORDANO (1634–1705) the Baroque moves to the brink of the eighteenth century. As a Neapolitan he started as a follower of Ribera; then of Reni, the sketchy almost eighteenth century style of the late Reni, notably in the enormous *Adoration of the Shepherds* in the Certosa di San Martino at Naples. He certainly admired Pietro da Cortona's decorations at Rome and Florence, and such works of Rubens as were accessible to him. A visit to Venice accounts for the richness and fluency of his brush, the intensity of his colour, the thick impasto applied with sparkling freshness.

These qualities combine with a joyous temperament in the ceiling frescoes painted in 1682–1683 for the Palazzo Medici Riccardi in Florence, representing mythological and allegorical scenes. A number of completed preparatory studies in oil for sections of these are in the Collection of Denis Mahon, and one of them is the

Allegory of Agriculture. In Luca Giordano the painterly inheritance 279 of Venice is wedded to a Baroque exuberance of movement, and his fertile imagination is matched by the lightness and energy of his figure composition. In the *Agriculture* nymphs and deities and cherubs mingle freely with ploughman and sower, and the river god with his silvery hair by the diaphanous stream is worthy of Tiepolo. Indeed Luca Giordano influenced Sebastiano Ricci, the leading Venetian painter of the transition, and by his sense of colour and light anticipates the atmospheric painting of the eighteenth century. In Naples Giordano was, together with Mattia Preti, a formative influence on the principal Neapolitan master of the transition to the eighteenth century, Solimena, a very able frescoist and painter of altarpieces and mythologies.

XXXVII. VENETIAN PAINTING IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Ricci — Piazzetta — Tiepolo — Carriera — Longhi.

The Rococo is the elegant and elusive end-form of the Baroque. SEBASTIANO RICCI translated the festive style of Veronese into the language of the Venetian Rococo. PIAZZETTA, the other forerunner of G. B. Tiepolo, forms a link with the Seicento and with the Baroque. He models form with strong use of chiaroscuro. TIEPOLO'S weightless figures float in an aura of iridescent light; his colours are transparent, his movements rapturous. He overcomes the dramatic massing and heaviness of the Baroque by dissolving form in a luminous infinity of space. ROSALBA CARRIERA and PIETRO LONGHI, with Chardin-like draughtsmanship, portray the delicacy and grace of the eighteenth century. Longhi records the social aspects, the foibles, ambitions and costumes of the upper classes.

As a painterly movement the Roman Baroque had been deeply affected by the great Venetians; but Venice, recuperating as it were from her splendid sixteenth century effort, made no striking contribution to the Baroque before the coming of SEBASTIANO RICCI (1659–1734). Ricci had visited Florence and Rome and absorbed the art of Luca Giordano in the Palazzo Medici Riccardi. He introduced the Rococo style to Venice and became with Piazzetta the formative influence upon its greatest eighteenth century master G. B. Tiepolo.*

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* Though the Venetian is the leading school in the eighteenth century, there are other important Rococo painters elsewhere, such as De Mura, carrying

Ricci often imitates Veronese, indeed he borrows and copies his compositions; but his fluency of form, his verve and elegance, his rich and nervous impasto are of the new century. Simultaneous with the early French Rococo he translated the style of Veronese into the language of the eighteenth century. Moreover, he was a draughtsman of the first order, and his drawings reveal a studied expressiveness of the human form and a rapid, illusive touch which are of the eighteenth century. In his resplendent oils like the *Adoration of the Magi* and the *Magdalena washing Christ's Feet* at Hampton Court, he re-creates the decorative style of Veronese; but in *Moses striking the Rock,* where small figures are painted in rich, composite colour in a landscape of rock and tree, he is of Magnasco's lineage.

280 The *Ecstasy of S. Teresa of Lima* is a typical work by Sebastiano Ricci. The subject had been treated in sculpture by Bernini's famous group at S. Maria della Vittoria, where a smiling angel pierces the heart of the Saint, who is borne aloft in exaltation. But Ricci's angel is far less irresistible, and the ecstasy of S. Teresa, floating between clouds and supported by cherubs, is more like a swoon than the spiritual state of mystical elevation. Yet it illustrates well the sensual sweetness and verve with which the Venetian Rococo expressed religious themes, and the painterly skill which bends draped and undraped bodies to a musical rhythm.

But the greatest eighteenth century artist before Tiepolo, who profoundly influenced his early work, was GIOVANNI BATTISTA PIAZZETTA (1682–1754). Reacting against the elusive elegancies of the Rococo, he forms a link with the art of the Seicento and the Baroque. As the Venetian Rococo dissolved form into movement and luminous atmosphere, Piazzetta retarded this process. He was 'the restorer of a robust and aggressive plastic form' (Pallucchini), which he sustained by a powerful chiaroscuro. He had spent his formative years at Bologna, where in 1703 he entered the workshop of Giuseppe Maria Crespi. From the Bolognese masters, and above all from Guercino, he took the violent naturalism of his early
281 works, like the *Martyrdom of S. James,* expressed in terms of muscular bodies, dramatic contrasts of light, and an austere tonality. Later his colours become richer and sweeter, and a more coherent light unifies plastic form. In 1725 he painted an early masterpiece

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on the tradition of Solimena at Naples, and Giaquinto, also originally trained under Solimena, active in Rome and afterwards in Spain; Batoni producing mythological and religious pieces and, above all, portraits in Rome; Pannini, painting views of Rome and antique capricci, etc.

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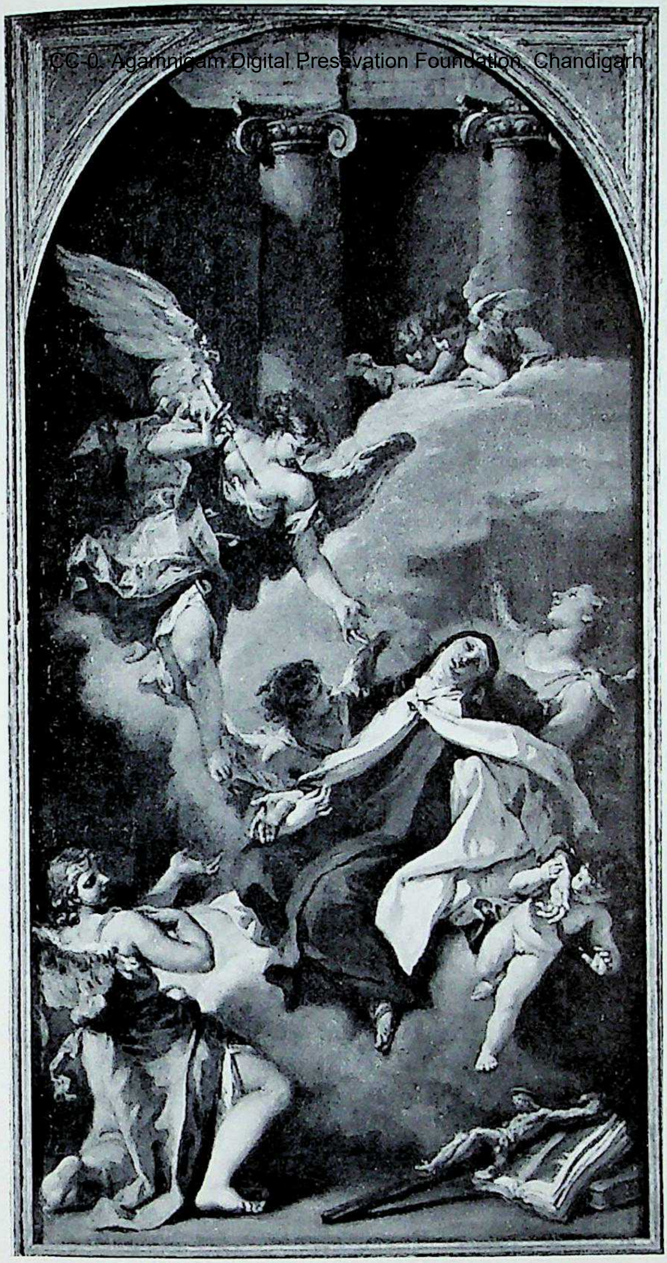
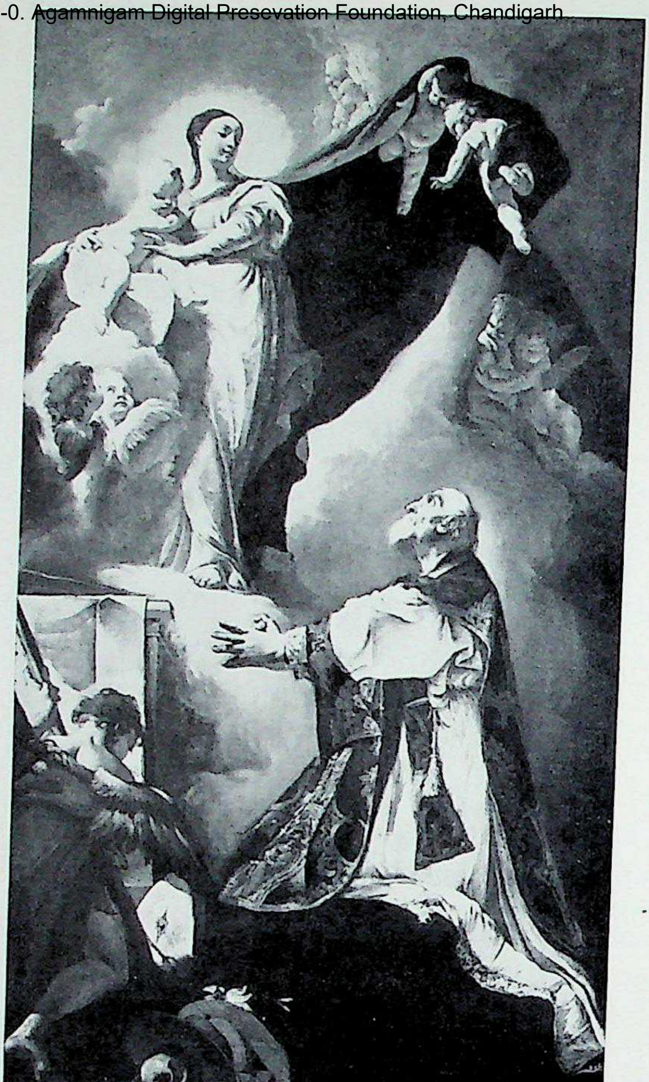


280. SEBASTIANO RICCI. *Ecstasy of S. Teresa of Lima.* Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum (photo: Arts Council of Gt. Britain).



281. G. B. PIAZZETTA. *Madonna appearing to S. Filippo Neri* (oil sketch). Washington, National Gallery of Art, Kress Collection (photo: National Gallery of Art).

for S. Maria della Fava, the *Madonna appearing to S. Filippo Neri*. The imposing design is built upon an ascending scale, which rises from the angel below to the kneeling saint, from him to the Madonna and, by means of her blue mantle suspended like a curtain, to the two putti above. The Madonna is a majestic sculptural form holding the Child proudly in her arms, while the head

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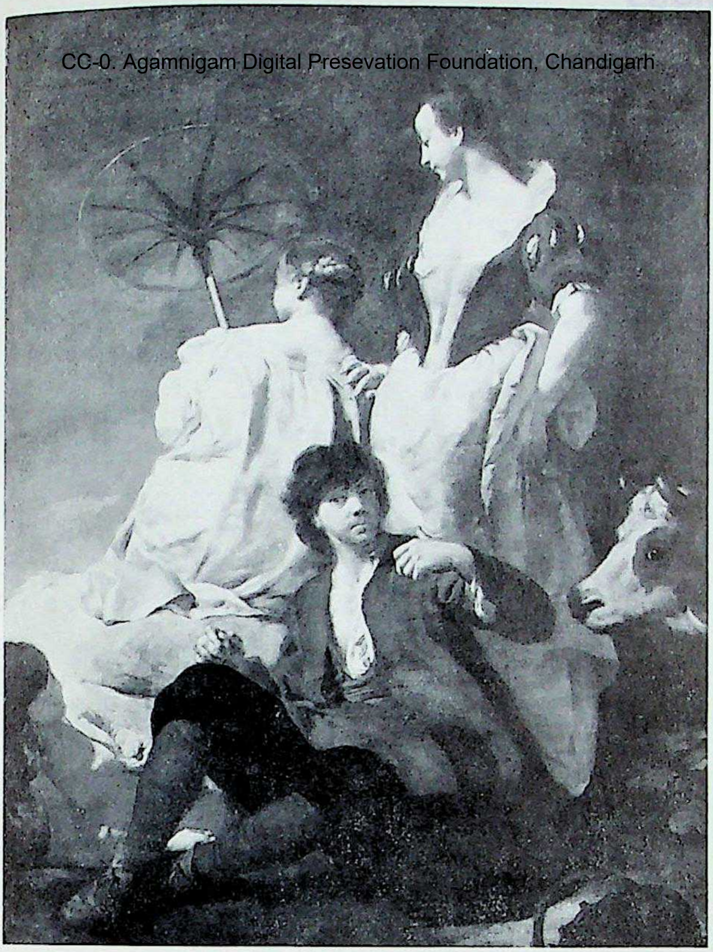

282. G. B. PIAZZETTA. *Idyll by the Seashore.* Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum (photo: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).

and figure of S. Filippo Neri are a study of individual character in the attitude of prayer. An aura of light surrounds the Madonna, modulates her shape and that of the saint, contrasted by planes of deep shadow, and the massive forms of the protagonists stand out in painterly relief of browns, creamy whites and blues.

Piazzetta painted only one ceiling, representing the *Glory of S. Dominic* in the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo at Venice. 'Form still dominates over the atmospheric surround' wrote Pallucchini, and it will be left to Tiepolo to dissolve volume by light in an infinity of space.

Piazzetta, though imaginative and passionate, retained a certain robustness even in his compositions of the religious Baroque. A

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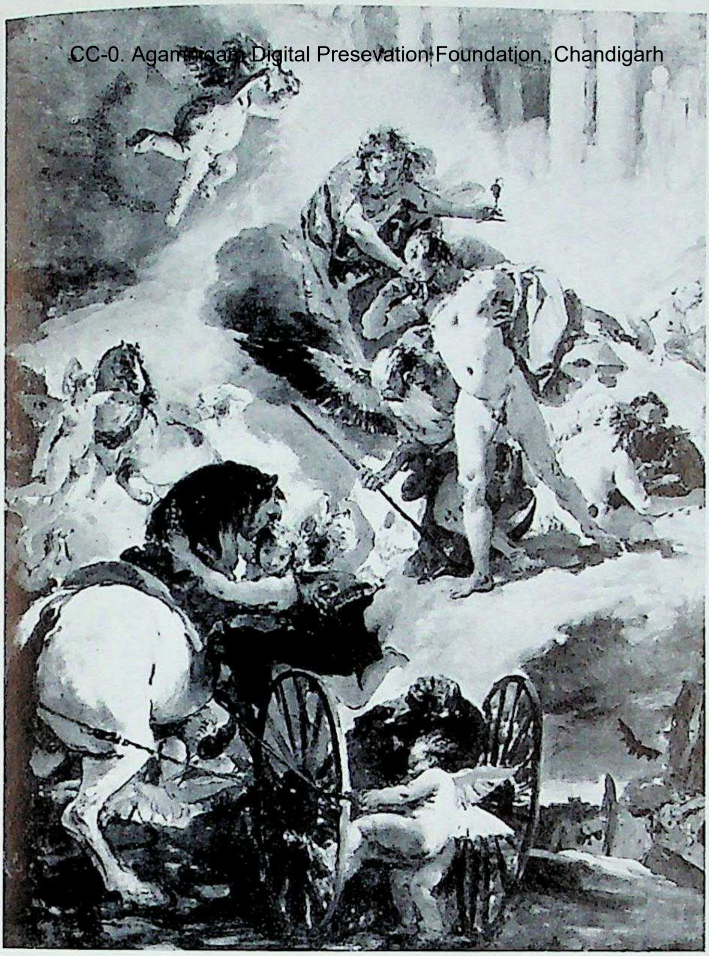
constructive energy informs his modelling. How closely he approaches a Vermeer or Chardin like substance of paint and a substantial fullness of the human form is evident from his pastoral subjects. In 282 one of them, the *Idyll by the Seashore,* a youthful shepherd, squatting on the ground, points to two ladies behind his back; one of these, holding a sunshade, looks towards the blue distance, while the other stands by in a contemplative mood.

Compositions like these, without narrative contents are an old Venetian genre, human still lifes or pastorals, rightly termed idylls, and their beauty resides in their naturalness, their painterly quality, their artistic invention. It is a closely knit group, richly and lusciously painted, of warm tonality, observed from life, where the unkempt rustic with his wondering gesture, the girl touching the shoulder of her friend seen from the back, supple, suggestive, fleshly, gathering all the light, form an evocative group.

Thus Piazzetta must be seen as a healthy antidote to the eighteenth century, a master of solid form who employs his 'obstinate chiaroscuro' to give plastic relief to a wealth of human figures observed with psychological finesse. These must be studied in his drawings, an eighteenth century galaxy of youthful types, maidens and lovers rustics and gallants—a Watteau in Venice, but less ethereal, more natural and earthbound, drawn from the living model, yet raised by nervous line and flickering light and fleeting expression to the highest level of artistic creation.

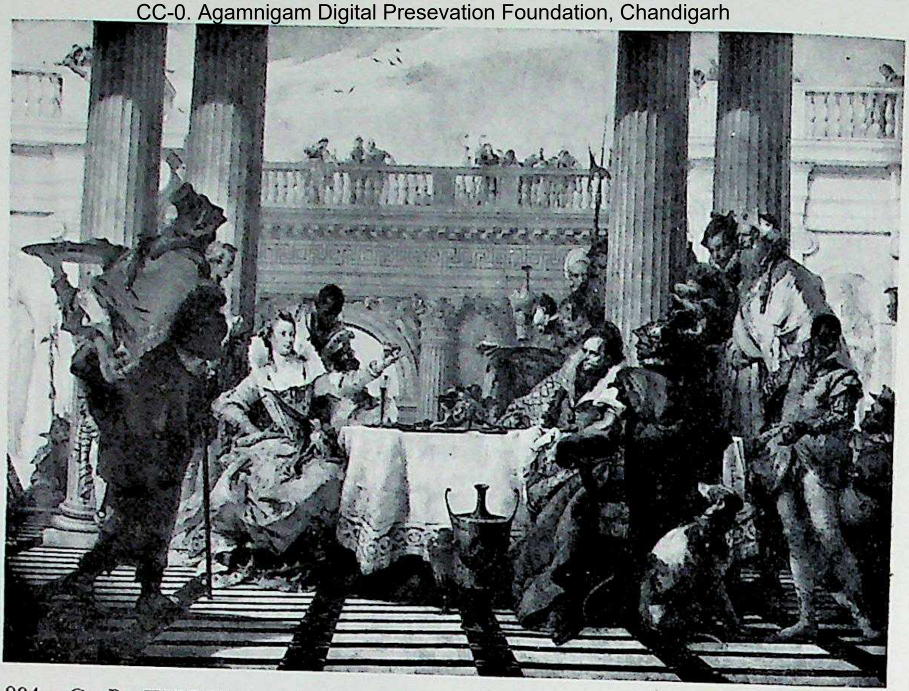
With GIOVANNI BATTISTA TIEPOLO the South European Baroque entered upon its refined eighteenth century phase of illusionistic fantasy with its emphasis upon formal elegance, rapturous movement and iridescent light. By the dissolution of static form, proportion and symmetry, it put an end to the Classical tradition. The art of the Baroque and Rococo is theatrical in that its aim is semblance and not existence, a cataract of movement in the infinity of space. Tiepolo's lighthearted exuberance came as a reaction against the heavier forms, the dramatic massing and the stark contrasts of light and shadow of the Baroque. He began to refine his palette, to make his colours transparent; he discovered how to paint the blazing light of the sun and diaphanous figures seen in aerial perspective. In mid-life his pictorial ideal became Paolo Veronese and by 1740 his work assumed 'a measured serenity and perfection.' In 1731 Tiepolo had received his first decorative commission : to paint frescoes in the Archinto Palace at Milan. He chose the mythology of Phaeton and Apollo, of which the Bowes Museum owns a preparatory sketch 283 called the *Harnessing of the Horses of the Sun.*



283. G. B. TIEPOLO. *Harnessing the Horses of the Sun.* Barnard Castle, Bowes Museum (photo: Bowes Museum).

The heavens open above the solid earth and the grey rocks, and the cloud-filled ether reveals upon vapoury plateaux, horses and men in a dramatic upward surge. The Baroque sweep of the design leads from the splendid bulk of the charger in the left foreground, where a small cherub strains to harness the horse to the chariot, in zigzagging tiers to the upper strata of the aerial realm. The Classical order of solid objects arrayed in symmetry, has been broken with some violence. A new life force has replaced the static intellectual order of the Classical age, creating a new pictorial pattern with dynamic power, where heroic bodies, gods and genii move in the unconfined space and the dazzling light.

As the great Biblical banquets, the *Marriage at Cana* or the *Feast in the House of Levi,* inspired Veronese to his resplendent



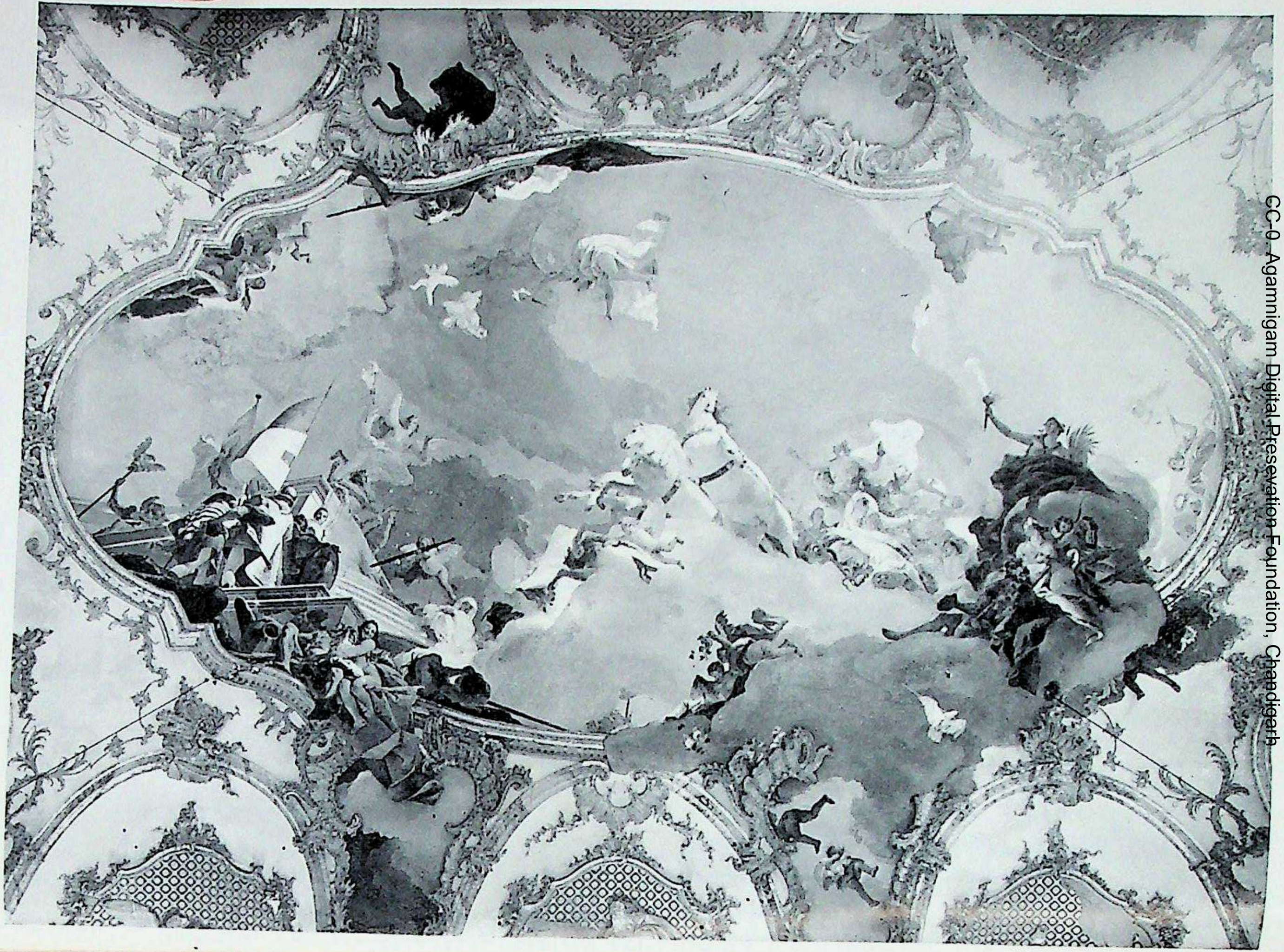
284. G. B. TIEPOLO. *Banquet of Cleopatra.* Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria (photo: Royal Academy of Arts).

displays of festive people in a setting of Palladian architecture, so Tiepolo found his classical style of composing in a kindred subject: 284 the *Meeting* and the *Banquet of Antony and Cleopatra,* of which he painted several versions. They earned him the title of Veronese Redivivus, so great is the continuity of Venetian painting and the unity of its spirit. Tiepolo too composed his banquets parallel to the picture plane, in the open air, under the pellucid sky of Venice. Fluted columns and a marble arcade in the middle distance with onlookers or minstrels are the Renaissance foil to the banquet, where the Roman chieftain and his luxuriant bride are attended by their gigantic bodyguard of major-domos, ministers and negro servants. Veronese depicted in his *Marriage at Cana* the Venetian reality of a rich man's feast; but Tiepolo used all the properties of the stage, a wholly imaginary Rome of fastidious elegance and fantastical costume. The pictorial illusionism of painted column and Classical decoration is at its height and the recession of space is enhanced by the marble tiles and the science of *controluce,* dark figures silhouetted against the dazzling light.

After the decoration of the Palazzo Labia in Venice with paintings and feigned architecture, Tiepolo, between 1750–1753, created his masterpiece the frescoes in the new residence of the Prince Bishop of Würzburg, whose architect was Balthasar Neumann. And here upon the ceiling of the Kaisersaal, he painted *Apollo conducting Beatrice of Burgundy to Barbarossa.* In this great Rococo 285 medallion of the ceiling he evoked the vastness of the celestial blue, and out of it in a triumphant upward surge, the chariot of Apollo, drawn by four rearing steeds, their white cylindrical bellies seen from below. These magnificent chargers stride upon vaporous banks of cloud, led by winged cupids and genii, bringing the bride to the Emperor's throne. Tiepolo's ceiling is the climacteric of all Rococo decoration by dint of its tempestuous movement, the vastness and transparency of the aerial dome and the feats of illusionism. It is a wholly Mozartian splendour, a rhythmical division of mass, a joyousness of spirit, a translucency of colour, the greatest approximation of painting to music, at once effortless and ethereal, as if liberated from all bodily weight.

In his last period (1762–1770) the art of Tiepolo became ever more delicate and evanescent. In the decorations of the Villa Pisani at Strà or at the Royal Palace at Madrid he painted glorifications of a great family or of a Royal House—pretexts for vast luminous inventions, where the skies open in a blaze of light and symbolical figures toss and tumble amidst the vapours, erupted towards the outer confines of the celestial space. In this apotheosis of his own rapturous style Tiepolo 'thinned out' his figures, freeing the radiant centres of the celestial ceiling and gathering them up along the architectural edges. Thus he avoided compact groups and opaque massing of figures and his painted ceilings assumed the lightness, the airiness, the radiance of the Empyrean. In this Paradisian nirvana of his imaginings, tuba-blowing angels and winged cupids, propelled by their own jubilant life-force, rotate around the invisible sun as in a wheel of fire.

In the portrait genre, Italy's greatest paintress was ROSALBA CARRIERA (1675–1757). Rosalba's pastel portraits of noble Venetian youths anticipate Gainsborough. The Rococo portrait of young gentlemen and ladies and beautiful children in powdered wig and exquisitely modish dress, looking straight at us with the freedom and frankness of their class is in the lineage of Chardin. Her pastel of Cardinal Polignac in the Venice Academy is not only the portrait of a great aristocrat, a prince of the Church, but also analysis of a refined and subtle human being, sensitive, cultured, licentious, a man of the world. Rosalba, wrote Roberto Longhi, is a poetess who gives 'an illusive quintessence of her epoque.'



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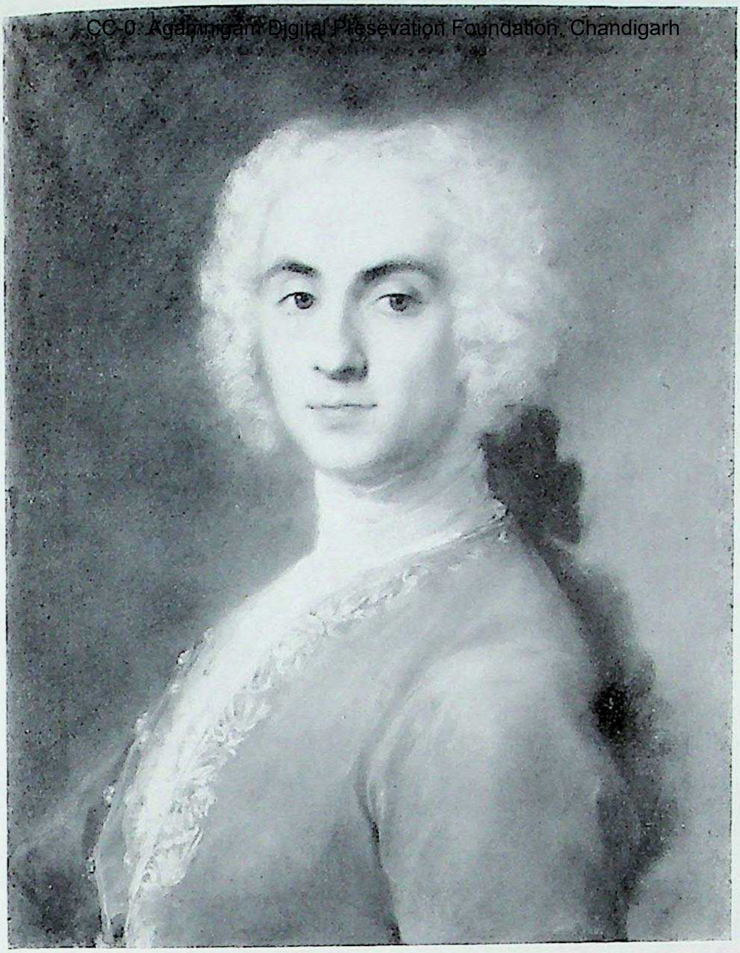
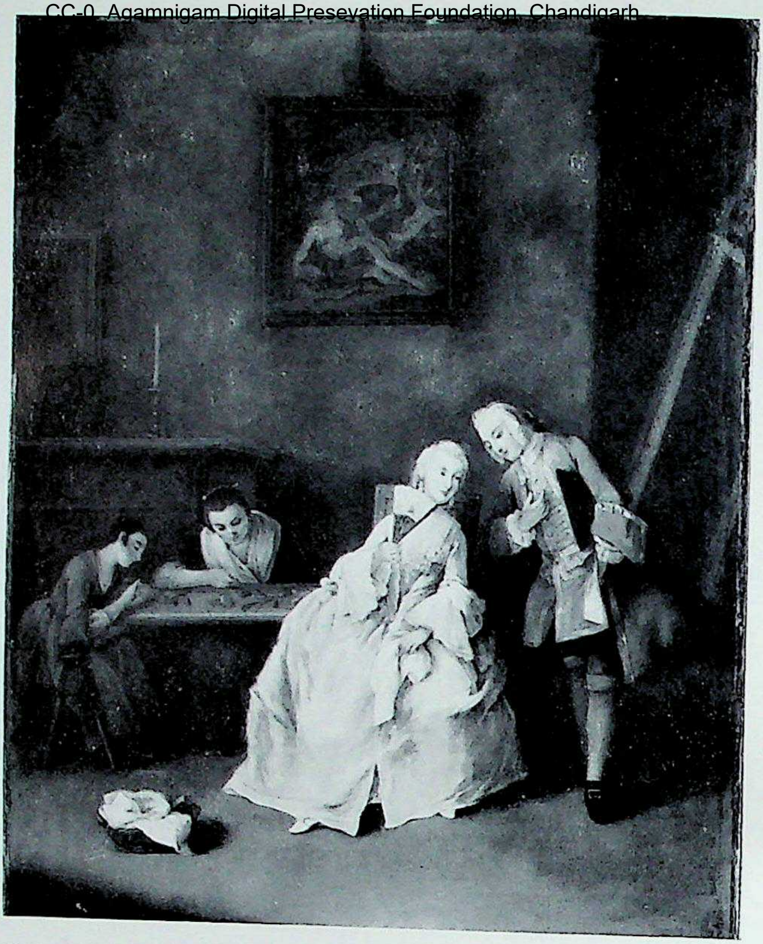


286. ROSALBA CARRIERA. *Portrait of a Young Man.* London, National Gallery (photo: National Gallery).

The National Gallery *Portrait of a Young Man* illustrates this point and also the delicacy of her touch, the evocative skill which portrays character and outward form, the shapely eye and painted brow, the elegant levity of the face. Rosalba's contours are of the softest, yet the terseness of the human form is nowhere relaxed and the modelling and shading are a supple gradation of greys and grey blues and whites. Her distinctive portraits in which a way of life, a mode of being has assumed pictorial form contribute to the European tradition of the eighteenth century. 286

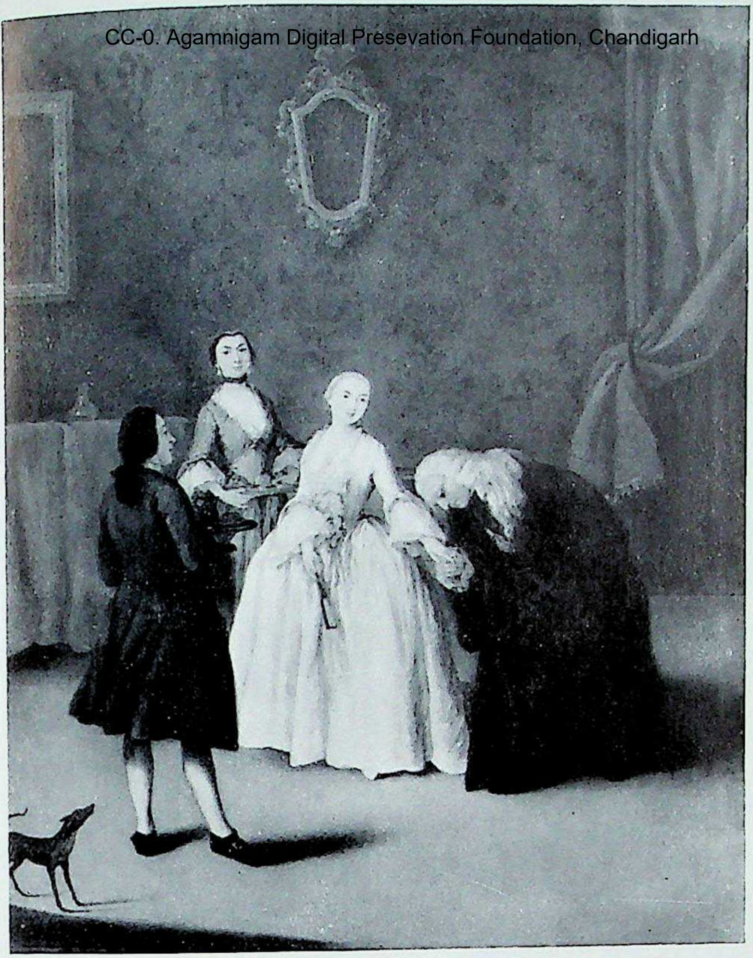
Tiepolo and Sebastiano Ricci and Piazzetta were painters of religious and allegorical subjects; PIETRO LONGHI steps out of the



287. PIETRO LONGHI. *A Lady receiving a Cavalier.* London, National Gallery (photo: National Gallery).

Rococo Heaven into the Venetian drawing rooms and becomes a social commentator and painter of genre. He is in the European tradition of Chardin, Jan Steen, and Molière. Exquisite artisan and subtle colourist and humorous recorder of the ambitions, the foibles, the costumes of the upper classes, he paints the elegant demi-monde, the amorous cavalier, the lovesick maiden, the gambler, Tartuffe and Bourgeois Gentilhomme.

Longhi's mild satire aims at the pompous burgher in wig and mantilla, proposing to the lady of the house in a well appointed drawing room, where Mozartian figures sip coffee from dainty cups and flunkeys stand by with pewter trays. As an artist he prefers shadowless pastel tones of pale blue and pink and splendid.



288. PIETRO LONGHI. *A Nobleman kissing a Lady's Hand.* London, National Gallery (photo: National Gallery).

whites and soft green, foiled by silk hangings, in his small and sparsely furnished rooms. Like Chardin he has a sensuous delight in the creamy density of paint, the texture of silks and velvet, the very fibre of wood. The finesse of his tone, the smoothness of his brush, the reflexions of light are exquisite.

His humour is less sardonic than Goya's, less broad and boisterous than Jan Steen's. His cavaliers and young belles, amorous and genteel, enact Rococo comedy in the two Interiors of the National Gallery. In one of them, *A Lady receiving a Cavalier,* beneath a 287
picture of Diana with Cupids, a Cherubino-like youth, wearing a light blue coat over gold braided pink, whispers to his lady in opalescent white, who listens eagerly behind her fan, while two

indolent women are half asleep over their embroidery frame. The splendid costumes of the two lovers are foiled by the neutral tones of the wall, the pale green and grey blue of the women's dress and the light brown floor. The vitality of the brush, of crinkled silk and soft lace, are the Rococo artist's main vehicle of expression.

288 In the companion picture, *A Nobleman kissing a Lady's Hand,* the lady is more obtuse and the Venetian gentlemen in black gown and silky wig, protests his feelings with hypocritical effusiveness. These doll like figures enact their comédie d'amour upon the drawing room stage with ceremonious dignity and comic abandon. The maid servant holds herself as still as a marionette, and the valet, robed in mauve velvet, moves with perfect decorum. The green tapestry and pinkish floor are a splendid foil to the powdered mask of the lady and her apoplectic lover, while the pictures on the wall are placed with the calculated finesse of a Pieter de Hooch. In the limited field of social genre Longhi is the first modern artist in Italy. He portrays the High Life, the dainty mummeries of the Venetian Rococo with humorous observation, impeccable taste and craftsmanship.

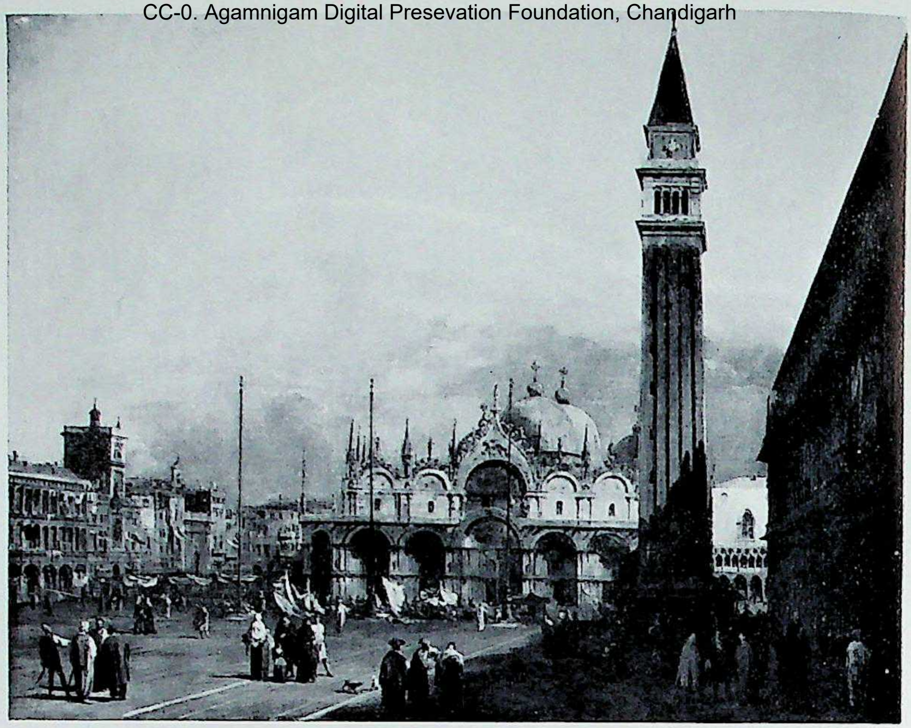
XXXVIII. AN EPILOGUE.

Antonio Canale and Francesco Guardi.

CANALETTO and GUARDI, with vastly superior means take up the glorification of Venice where Gentile Bellini and Carpaccio had left it. Canaletto transforms the topographical view of Venice by his luministic splendour and structural breadth, a heightened realism based upon perspective precision and limpid clarity. Guardi's vision is more painterly and subjective. He paints lyrical fantasies on Venetian themes with sparkling lights and delicate touches of composite colour.

With Canaletto and Francesco Guardi the Venetian glorification of their own city, waterways and people, which began in the fifteenth century with the pageant pictures of Bellini and Carpaccio (see pp.154–156) emancipates into a special genre: the topographical and the poetical city portrait. The passage of three hundred years had not vitally changed the layout of the canals, palaces, churches, the air and light of the lagoons, and a reaction against the fantastic extravagance of the Baroque brought a demand for a more truthful vision of the world. This had been answered by the Dutch portrayal of their own country and architecture, and CANALETTO's first Venetian views betray this influence.

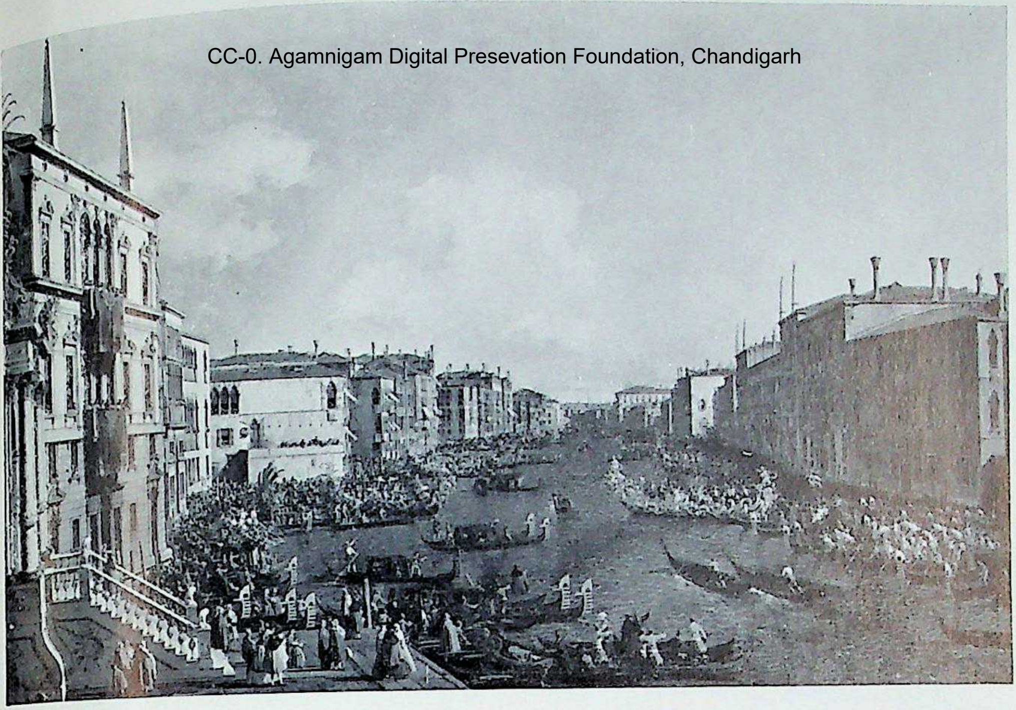
He was a follower of Carlevaris from whom he learnt architectural perspective, and in 1719 paid a short visit to Rome to draw ruins under Pannini, the architectural draughtsman who untiringly translated the Interior of S. Peter's, Rome, into the pictorial language of the Rococo. By 1720 he is settled in Venice to begin his systematic conquest of every aspect of his native city. Canaletto's enormous output was spurred by the demand of travellers from England and Consul Smith, the agent of George III. He painted his finest work before coming to London in 1746. His early *Piazza* 289 *San Marco* at Windsor Castle already shows the spacious grandeur of Canaletto's design. The deep masses of shadow cast upon pavement and campanile by the boldly foreshortened Procuratie Nuove throw into strong relief the illuminated front of domed church and Ducal Palace. Along the whole wide piazza picturesque groups of people are painted in rich impasto, and not by linear perspective but by painterly means of alternating shadows and glittering surfaces. In their dramatic contrast Canaletto imbues a realistic view of Venice with a romantic spirit.



289. CANALETTO. *Piazza San Marco.* Windsor Castle (photo: By gracious permission of Her Majesty the Queen).

In course of time Canaletto lightens his palette; the density of impasto, the grainy texture of paint, a certain heaviness after the style of the seventeenth century Dutch gives way to a more vibrant vision in pure dazzling colours. His prime vehicle becomes the light, the moving clouds and the vaporous air. In *S. Cristoforo della Pace and S. Michele looking towards Murano* the subject is a corner of the lagoon with a flat expanse of the sunlit island in the distance, and here the reflections of blues and greys and pinks in the stillness of the water, the warm tones of light, the contrasting planes of shadow under the vastness of the sky endow this corner of the lagoon with a melancholy beauty.

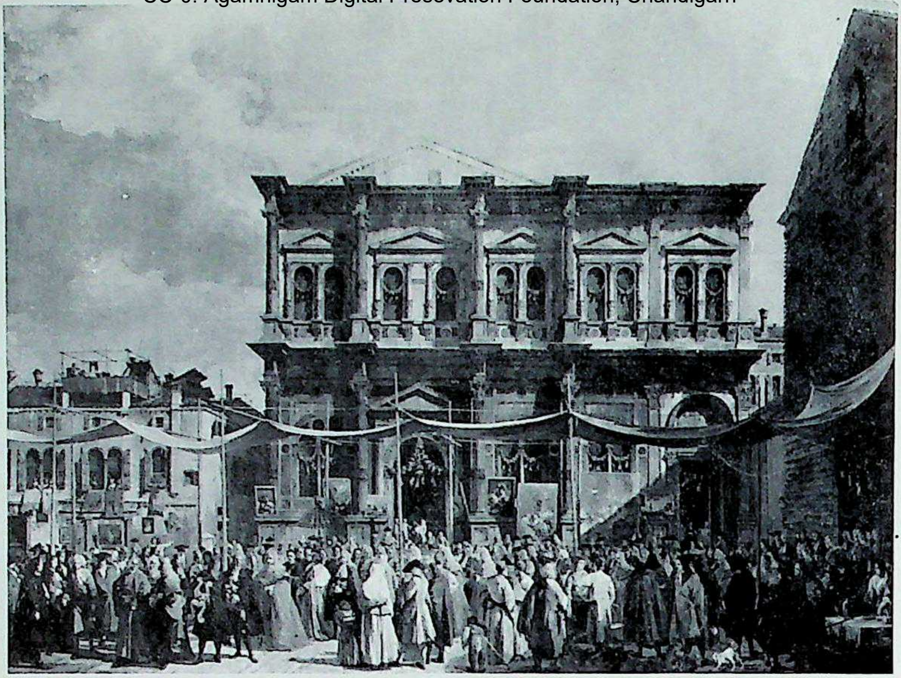
Canaletto spent the best part of his life surveying his native city almost inch by inch, using the Camera Ottica for his immaculate perspective, and in his finest work he attained a delicacy of vision, a serenity and calm, in which the golden light and the vibrant air are the principal agents. In many of his vistas he aspired after an imaginative freedom and pictorial effect of buildings, squares, waterways and bridges, silhouetted against the sky and defined by



290. CANALETTO. *Regatta from Cà Foscari.* London, National Gallery (photo: National Gallery).

the sharp vertical edges of palaces, their cubic consistency in the limpid air and all pervading light. He painted the wide opening of the Grand Canal with its house fronts contracted and foreshortened in the distance, and the gondolas plying their course across the rippling water; and the tremendous festivals on the lagoon, the Doge's state voyage on Ascension Day, receptions of foreign diplomats and regattas. In the *Regatta from Ca' Foscari* he combined 290 a colourful fantasy with a detailed realism of presentation. The amorphous dots and blotches suggesting crowds in movement, the radiation of lines defining windows. Chimneys, oars, and massed gondolas are wholly modern, but the ideation of the picture goes back to Carpaccio and Gentile Bellini.

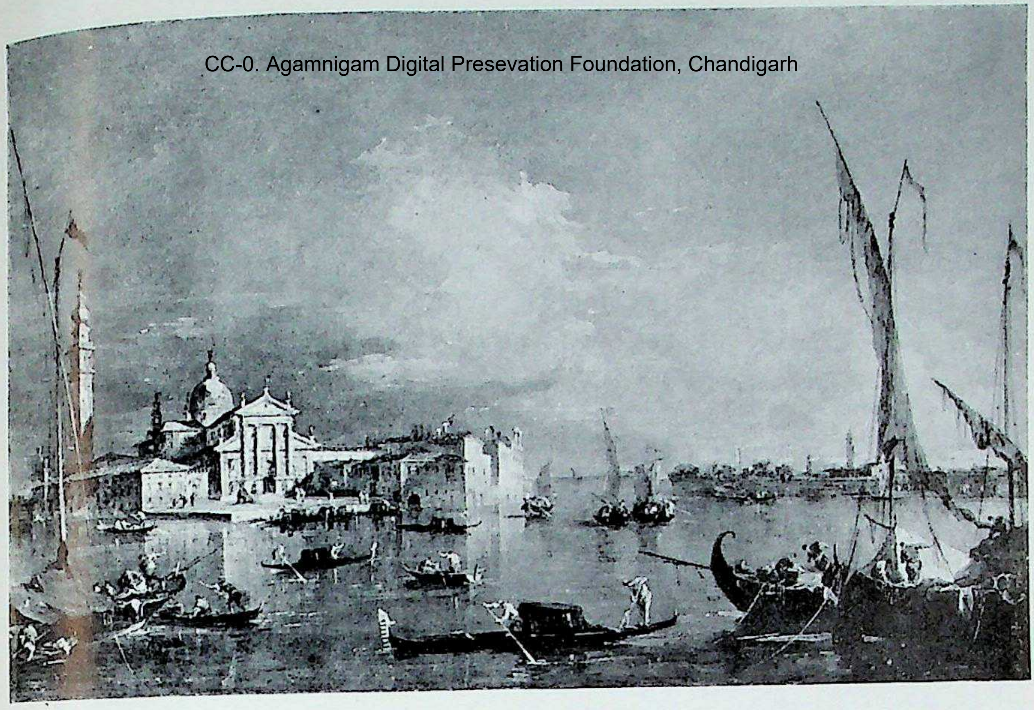
Canaletto's 'clear cold vision' and 'perspective mania' combine in the *Regatta* with blazing light and gay colours, bright reds and blues and gold of the state barges, window-hangings and costumes. The water of the lagoon is a luminous green—and the white light on façades and clouds, the blue sky animated by breezes, lend a superlative clarity to all forms. The whole length of the canal is made visible by the diminishing scale of houses and their abrupt



291. CANALETTO. *School of San Rocco.* London, National Gallery (photo: National Gallery).

foreshortenings, until it vanishes at the turn of the Rialto. The limpid transparency of the air envelops buildings, barges, crowds with a hard crystalline gloss, and the serried rows of people lining the banks, boats, balconies, and the skyline of spires and chimney-pots are a fantastical transformation of the same Venetian reality met in Carpaccio's *Miracle of the Cross.*

To the limpid clarity and luministic truthfulness of the Venetian scene Canaletto added an element of painterly bravura in the summary treatment of the crowd watching the Regatta, where dabs of ochre suggest faceless heads of people. The *School of San* 291 *Rocco* represents yet another Canaletto, who delights in rich impasto, an artist of the Rococo who records the ceremonious feasts of Venice, where stately dignitaries in grey curly wigs walk in procession in gowns of scarlet, purple, black and gold. This multi-coloured assembly is foiled by the grey stone of the luxuriant Renaissance Scuola, deeply shaded beneath the pediments and in the portals, flanked by the warm brown expanse of the Church façade and moulded by the dazzling light. For the sun blazes down in the centre and grades off to the sides where the Church casts its



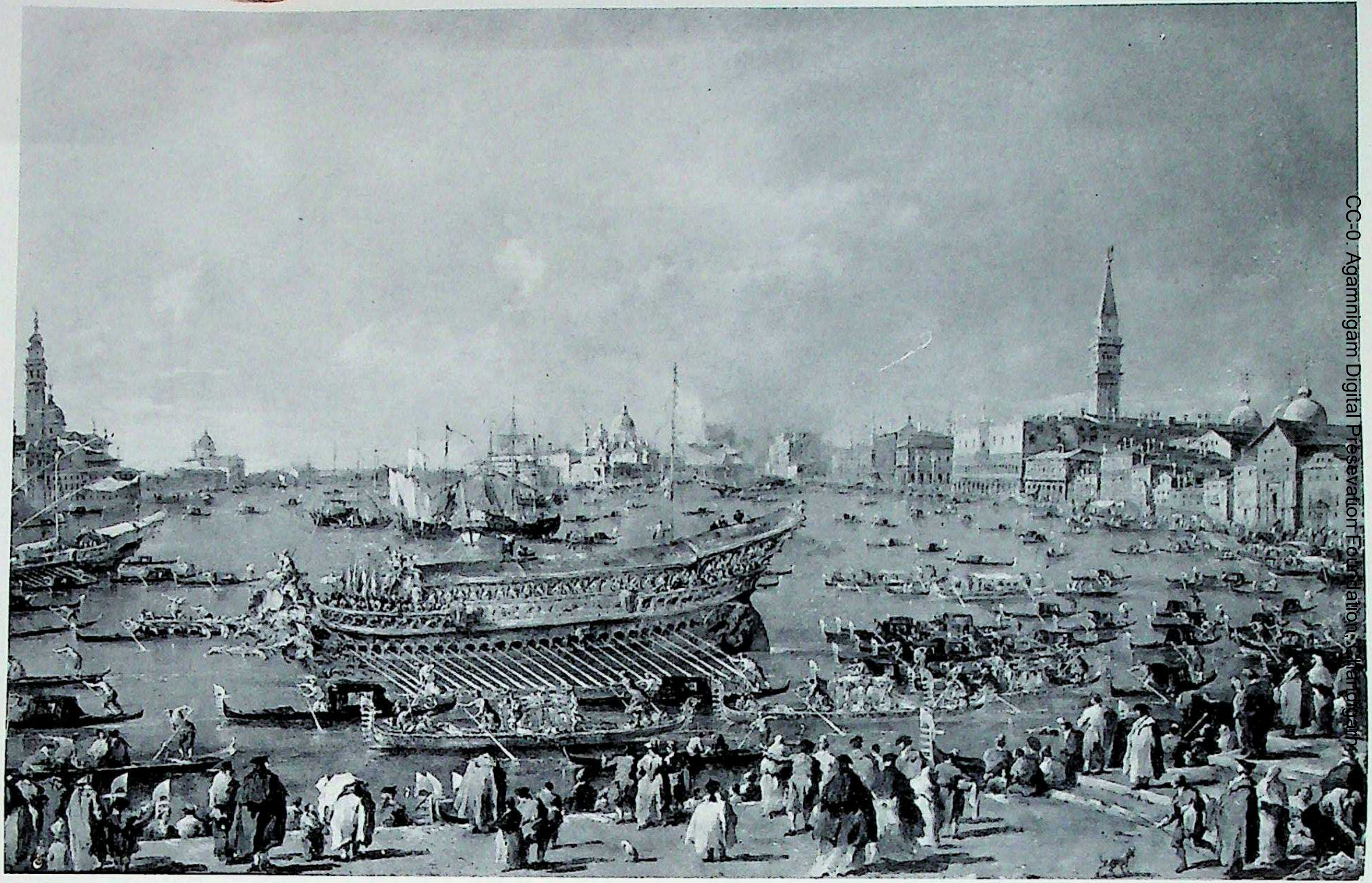
292. GUARDI. *San Giorgio Maggiore*. London, Wallace Collection (photo : Wallace Collection).

triangular shaft of shadow. The light brown awning, spread across the whole length of the picture and painted in delicate curving brushstrokes of rich pigment, provides the horizontal balance for the uprights of poles and columns.

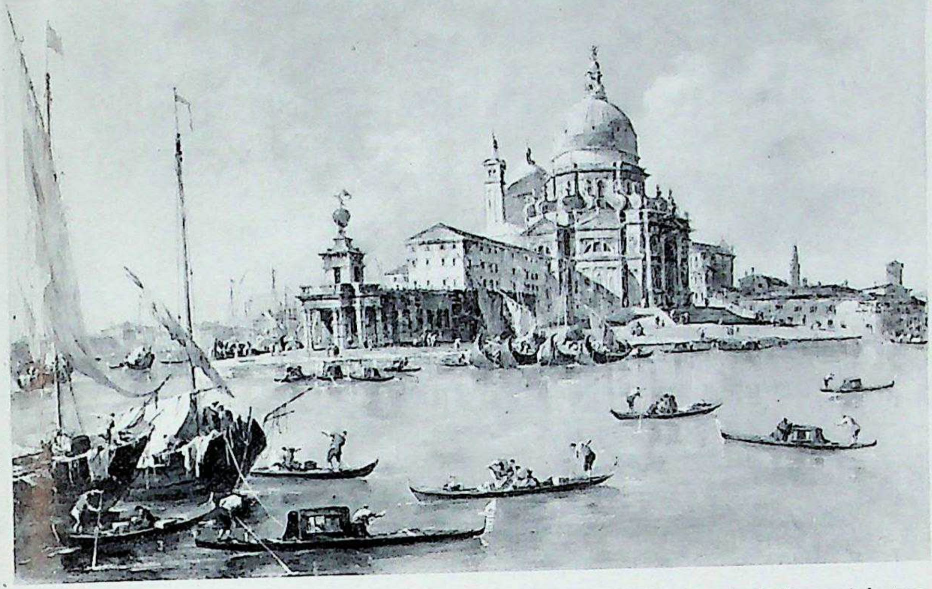
The *School of San Rocco* shows Canaletto's place in the continuity of the Venetian tradition, a master of colour and light whose best work transcends the luministic topography of his popular genre. For here the colour is sensuous, vital and opalescent, throwing into plastic relief figures as well as buildings and depicting the eighteenth century scene with gaiety and abandon.

Canaletto's brilliant pupil in the topographical genre of city views was his nephew Bernardo Bellotto, who at the age of twenty-seven left Italy for Dresden and Warsaw. There he applied the art of Canaletto to the portrayal of the architectural prospects of these cities.

The art of FRANCESCO GUARDI (1712–1793) is more subjective than Canaletto's, his vision more painterly, his light more sparkling, his touch more delicate. He often borrowed the designs of Canaletto, but he transformed them into lyrical fantasies. The linear precision



293. GUARDI. *Departure of the Bucintoro.* Paris, Louvre (photo: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).



294. GUARDI. *Santa Maria della Salute.* London, National Gallery (photo: National Gallery).

of contour and perspective are submerged in the vibrant atmosphere, the magical light, the arbitrary shadows and the summary style of his brush. Where Canaletto defines and constructs, Guardi imposes his colouristic vision, his blurred outlines, his reflected lights. By his nervous delicacy of touch, his rich impasto, his restless arabesques he is a master of the Rococo.

In his view of *San Giorgio Maggiore* the Palladian church and its 292
angular pile of buildings cast their reflection into the stillness of the lagoon. Above, a burst of pink explosive clouds, shadows slung across buildings and turrets, the soft gleam of marble, splashes of pure white in the wake of ships, the glassy water a composite of reflected blues, pinks and browns, sails relaxing in the calm air and the marionette boatmen straining at the oar are the elements by which Guardi conveys the Byzantine dreaminess of the lagoon.

A festive mood prevails in the teeming basin of San Marco with
the *Departure of the Bucintoro* for the ceremonious rite of wedding 293
Venice to the sea. The gaiety of the scene with the countless craft swarming around the gilded galleon of the Doge, the rhythmical

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movement of oars and fluttering banners are seen against the brilliant prospect of the Venetian waterfront. And here in the scintillating specks of colour, the white light upon façades and cupolas, merging with the soft atmosphere of sky and water, the contrast between the rich colour of the holiday makers on the shore and the silvery haze of the interminable distance, Guardi's painterly impression of Venice takes its place beside the clear contours and definition of Canaletto.

Nor are his buildings set less firmly in the silver sea. *Santa Maria* 294 *della Salute* in dazzling grey and mother of pearl rules like a queen over the entrance of the Grand Canal, a Rococo queen with her slate-blue cupola, her coronal of convoluted stone and the dependent buildings flung starwise into the pale blue water. The restless variety of architectural forms, coils, figures and pediments of the octagonal pile is matched by the delicacy of silvery tints, the white dots on the water, the red and yellow of the gondoliers. Yet the sparkling touches of jewel-like colour are subsumed to the larger design, the luminous complex of buildings with its alternating planes of shadow and light under the great azure dome of the sky. Guardi thrusts into the diagonal depth of space and fans out in all directions, from the picturesque sailing craft in the foreground to the roseate haze of the distant shore. By his sense of 'broken form' and magical light, his sparkling colour, his fantastic spirit, Francesco Guardi is, beside Tiepolo, the leading master of the Italian Rococo.

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA.

Niccolo dell'Abbate, 1509–1571. School of Modena. Influenced first by Dosso Dossi of Ferrara, then by Parmigianino. In 1552 he joins the School of Fontainebleau.

Baciccio (G. B. Gaulli), 1639–1709. A Genoese. Great Baroque decorator. Comes to Rome as a boy of eighteen. Friend of Bernini. Influenced by Correggio, Pietro da Cortona and Rubens. His chief work: the decoration of Il Gesù, Rome (1669–1683).

Federigo Baroccio, 1526–1612. Born and died at Urbino. Mannerist follower of Correggio.

Fra Bartolomeo (Baccio della Porta), 1475–1517. Florentine. Pupil of Cosimo Rosselli. Follower of Savonarola. After the execution of the latter, he becomes a monk at San Marco in Florence, and from 1500 to 1506 he gives up painting. Friendship with Raphael. Influenced by Michelangelo and Leonardo. In 1508 he visits Venice.

Bassano (Jacopo da Ponte), 1510–1592. Venetian School. Born in Bassano. Pupil first of his father, then of Bonifazio Veronese at Venice. By 1540 he is settled for good in his native Bassano. Influenced by Parmigianino, Titian, Tintoretto. Head of a fertile workshop in which his sons, Leandro and Francesco continue to paint religious genre.

Leandro Bassano, 1557–1622. Venetian School. Son and pupil of Jacopo Bassano.

Domenico Beccafumi, 1486?–1551. Founder of Tuscan Mannerism with Pontormo, Rosso and Bronzino. Works and dies in Siena.

Bernardo Bellotto (Canaletto the Younger), 1720–1780. Canaletto's nephew and most gifted pupil. Painter of city views and Roman ruins. Left Italy in 1745 and went to Dresden and then to Warsaw.

Giovanni Antonio Boltraffio, 1467–1516. School of Milan. Pupil of Leonardo.

Bronzino (Agnolo Allori), 1503–1572. Florentine Mannerist. Pupil of Pontormo. Portraitist of Grand Ducal Florence under Cosimo I. Mythological and allegorical compositions influenced by Michelangelo.

Canaletto (Giovanni Antonio da Canale), 1697–1768. Venetian School. Started as Baroque scene painter in his father's workshop. Follower of Carlevaris. 1719 journey to Rome. In 1720 he paints his first Venetian views. 1746 journey to London on instigation of Consul Joseph Smith. 1756 probable return to Venice. 1763 election to Venetian Academy after previous rejection. 1768 death of Canaletto.

Caravaggio (Michelangelo Merisi da), 1573–1610. Roman School. Born in Caravaggio, near Bergamo. Lombard-Venetian upbringing. Goes to Rome around 1590. Lives in the Palace of Cardinal del Monte and through him is commissioned to paint scenes from the Life of S. Matthew for the Contarelli Chapel in San Luigi dei Francesi; and for the Marchese Vincenzo Giustiani the *Conversion of Paul* and the *Crucifixion of Peter* for the Cerasi Chapel at Santa Maria del Popolo. In 1606 he committed manslaughter and fled to Naples; thence to Malta where the Grandmaster Alof de Wignacourt is his patron. After more trouble and imprisonment he escapes to Sicily. In 1610 he dies on Italian soil.

Lodovico Carracci, 1555–1619. School of Bolgona. Founder of the Accademia degli Incamminati (1582) together with his cousins Agostino and Annibale. Other prominent pupils of the Bolognese School are Guercino, Guido Reni and Domenichino. While most of his pupils left Bologna for Rome, Lodovico remained in northern Italy. Religious painter of the Counter Reformation.

Agostino Carracci, 1557–1602. Bolognese School. Cousin of Lodovico and brother of Annibale. Vital journey to Venice in 1582 and to Parma in 1585. He was mainly an engraver and a scholar.

Annibale Carracci, 1560–1609. Bolognese School. Cousin of Lodovico and brother of Agostino. 1585–1588 journeys to Parma and Venice. 1595: summoned to Rome by Cardinal Odoardo Farnese to decorate his palace with pagan mythologies. He combines Classic and Baroque elements of seventeenth century painting into a new idiom.

Rosalba Carriera, 1675–1757. Venetian School. Painter of pastel portraits.

Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione, *c.* 1610–1665. Genoese School. Influenced by Rubens and Van Dyck.

Vincenzo Catena, active 1495–1531. Venetian School. Born probably in Venice, he started as an imitator of Giovanni Bellini. Later he befriended Giorgione and from 1506 was in close professional contact with him. At the back of Giorgione's *Portrait of Laura* in the Vienna Museum is the inscription: '1506 the first day of June this was done by the hand of master Giorgio di Castelfranco . . . colleague of master Vincenzo Catena.' He painted sacred pictures and some fine portraits. Was also influenced by Cima, Palma Vecchio and Titian.

Correggio (Antonio Allegri), *c.* 1494–1534. School of Parma. Born at Correggio. His masters are unknown; perhaps Bianchi Ferrari da Modena. His early works show the influence of Lorenzo Costa (Mantua) and Dosso Dossi (Ferrara). A journey to Rome has been surmised.

Pietro da Cortona, 1596–1669. Painter of mythologies and Baroque decorations. The *Rape of the Sabines* (Capitol), the Barberini Ceiling (1633–39), frescoes in the Palazzo Pitti (1641–47). He combines painting, architecture and stucco work.

Domenichino (Domenico Zampieri), 1581–1641. Bolognese School. School of Lodovico Carracci. Went to Rome in 1602. Worked in the Palazzo Farnese as Annibale's assistant. Painter of religious frescoes and altar pieces such as the *Last Communion of S. Jerome*. For Cardinal Scipione Borghese he paints in 1617 the *Hunt of Diana*. In 1631 he moves from Rome to Naples. As a painter of Classical landscape he is the forerunner of Claude and Poussin.

Dosso Dossi (Giovanni Luteri), 1480–1542. School of Ferrara. Influenced by Giorgione, Titian, Raphael. Court painter to Alfonso d'Este.

Luca Giordano, 1634–1705. Neapolitan School. First influenced by Ribera, then by Reni, Rubens, Pietro da Cortona and the Cinquecento Venetians. One of his principal works was the Baroque decoration in the Palazzo Medici Riccardi, Florence, which foreshadows the eighteenth century.

Giorgione (Giorgio Barbarelli), 1477–1510. Venetian. Brought up in the city of Giovanni Bellini and Carpaccio. Likely influence from Perugino, Francia and Costa promotes his rich glowing colour and detaches him from the Bellini School. In 1508 Bellini nominates three artists, among whom are Carpaccio and Basaiti, to assess Giorgione's frescoes on the façade of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi. Died 1510.

Francesco Guardi, 1712–1793. Venetian School. Starts as a religious painter of the Rococo in the Guardi family workshop. After 1760 he takes up Venetian views. He borrows Canaletto's designs, first to imitate and then to transform the genre. 1784 election to the Venetian Academy. 1793 death of Guardi.

Guercino (Giovanni Francesco Barbieri), 1591–1666. Bolognese School. Follower of Lodovico Carracci. Visit to Venice in 1618. In Rome from 1621. He paints an Autora for the Villa Ludovisi. He is the foremost religious painter of the Roman Baroque.

Giovanni Lanfranco, 1582–1647. Born in Parma; went to Rome in 1602. Assistant to Annibale Carracci in Palazzo Farnese. His chief work is the Cupola in Sant'Andrea della Valle, Rome (1621–25). He used Correggio's scheme and created the first decoration of the full Baroque.

Leonardo da Vinci, 1452–1519. Florentine School. Born in Anchiano near Vinci. 1469–1482 resides in Florence. 1472–1476 assistant in Verrocchio's workshop. 1472 inscribed as a painter in the Guild of S. Luke. 1482 Leonardo moves to Milan. In the service of Duke Lodovico Sforza until 1499 when the French occupy Milan. After the fall of Lodovico, Leonardo goes to Mantua, Venice and Florence (1500–1506). He serves

Cesare Borgia as military engineer. 1506–1513 second stay in Milan. 1513–1516 Leonardo in Rome. 1516 he leaves Italy for France. 1519 Leonardo dies near Amboise.

Pietro Longhi, 1702–1785. Venetian School. Studied with Crespi at Bologna. From 1732 settled in Venice for life. Painter of genre and conversation pieces.

Lorenzo Lotto, 1480–1556. Venetian School. Pupil of Alvise Vivarini, follower of Giovanni Bellini; also influenced by Giorgione, Titian, Palma Vecchio and perhaps Dürer. Wandering life between Venice, Recanati, Treviso, Rome, Bergamo, Loreto. Rome in 1509, attracted by Raphael. In 1513 Alessandro Martinengo calls him to Bergamo where he paints many altarpieces for Bergamasque churches, especially S. Bartolomeo, S. Spirito, and San Bernardino. Lotto creates the psychological portrait. He retires as a lay brother to the Santa Casa at Loreto, where he dies.

Bernardino Luini, *c.* 1475–1532. School of Milan. Pupil of Bergognone, Bramantino and Leonardo.

Alessandro Magnasco, 1667–1749. Genoese School. Painter of fantastic landscapes with figures, who continues the romanticism of Salvator Rosa in the rich Venetian impasto and violent luminism of Sebastiano Ricci into the age of the Rococo.

Carlo Maratta, 1625–1713. Roman School. Pupil of Andrea Sacchi. Painter of Baroque decorations, altarpieces and portraits. Studied Correggio and Raphael, and exerted a moderating influence on the Baroque.

Michelangelo Buonarroti, 1475–1564. Florentine School. Born at Caprese near Florence. In 1488 enters the workshop of Ghirlandaio at Florence, which he leaves in 1489. In 1490 Lorenzo Medici offers him hospitality in his palace. In 1505 he is summoned to Rome by Pope Julius II. In his service he paints the Sistine Ceiling (1508–1512). Other paintings include the *Last Judgment* (1534–1541) and the frescoes of the Cappella Paolina, the *Conversion of Paul* (1542–1545), and the *Crucifixion of Peter* (1546–1550), commissioned by Pope Paul III.

Pierfrancesco Mola, 1612–1666. Influenced by Guercino, Veronese and Titian.

Moretto (Alessandro Bonvicino), 1498–1554. School of Brescia. Influenced by Savoldo, Lotto, Titian. Fine portraitist and painter of sacred pictures.

Giovanni Battista Moroni, 1520/5–1578. School of Brescia. Pupil of Moretto, influenced by Lotto. Painter of realistic portraits.

Palma Vecchio, 1480–1528. Venetian School. Pupil of Giovanni Bellini, influenced by Giorgione and Titian. Painter of Sacre conversazioni.

Giovanni Paolo Pannini, *c.* 1692–1765. Studied architectural drawing at Piacenza, and in 1717 moved to Rome. Painter of Roman ruins and the interior of S. Peter.

Parmigianino (Francesco Mazzola), 1503–1540. School of Parma. In his youth influenced by Correggio, later by Raphael and Michelangelo. Works at Parma, Bologna and Rome. Leading Mannerist of Emilia.

Giovanni Battista Piazzetta, 1682–1754. Venetian School. Studied with G. M. Crespi at Bologna. Specialised in religious and genre painting. His work influenced G. B. Tiepolo.

Sebastiano del Piombo (Sebastiano Luciani), 1485–1547. Venetian. Born at Venice he became close follower of Giorgione until 1511, when he left Venice for Rome in answer to a call from Agostino Chigi, Raphael's patron, in whose villa La Farnesina he painted mythologies. Later he succumbed to Michelangelo's influence and combines Venetian colour with Roman grandeur of form. Examples of his grand manner are the *Pietà* at Viterbo and the *Portrait of Pope Clement VII.*

Pontormo (Jacopo Carucci), 1494–1557. Florentine Mannerist. Pupil of Andrea del Sarto. He became the master of Bronzino. Violent reaction against Renaissance proportion and equilibrium.

Andrea Pozzo, 1642–1709. Roman School. Expert on perspective. Continues Baroque decoration in Rome where Baciccio left off. His chief work is the decoration of S. Ignatius, Rome (1689–1694).

Ambrogio de Predis, *active* 1472–1506. School of Milan. Assistant and follower of Leonardo.

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Mattia Preti, 1613–1699. Neapolitan School. Derived from Guercino and associates with Luca Giordano. Impetuous Baroque painter.

Raffaello Santi, 1483–1520. Florentine School. Born in Urbino; pupil of his father Giovanni Santi. Met Perugino around 1497 and followed him to Perugia. Transfers to Florence in 1504. In 1509 he goes to the Rome of Pope Julius II. Between 1509 and 1516 he decorates the apartments of the Vatican and designs the cartoons for the Sistine Tapestry. After the death of Bramante he becomes architect of S. Peter. His last work, the *Transfiguration,* was completed by his pupil Giulio Romano.

Guido Reni, 1575–1642. Bolognese School. At twenty he went to the Carracci Academy. 1602: first visit to Rome. 1603–1607: he resides in Bologna. From 1607 to 1614 he again works in Rome and in the Palazzo Rospigliosi paints the *Aurora.* As a Classicist painter he shuns the agitated Roman Baroque and the realism of Caravaggio. In 1614 he returns to Bologna for good.

Sebastiano Ricci, 1659–1734. Venetian School. He worked at Florence and Rome. Influenced by Baroque decorators like Luca Giordano and by Paolo Veronese. In his turn he influenced Tiepolo.

Romanino (Girolamo Romani), 1485–1566. School of Brescia. Influenced by Giorgione, Titian, Savoldo, Lotto. Painter of sacred pictures and frescoes for provincial churches in northern Italy.

Giulio Romano, 1492?–1546. Roman School. Raphael's favourite pupil. Mannerist follower of Michelangelo.

Salvator Rosa, 1615–1673. Grew up at Naples at a time when Ribera was under the influence of Caravaggio. Painter of biblical subjects, mythologies, allegories and landscapes, all with a strong romantic flavour.

Rosso Fiorentino, 1494–1541. Florentine Mannerist. Pupil of Andrea del Sarto. Chief Mannerist work: *Deposition of Christ* at Volterra. From 1530 works at Fontainebleau for Francis I decorating the Castle. With Primaticcio he is the founder of the School of Fontainebleau.

Andrea Sacchi, 1599–1661. Roman School. Pupil of Albani. In so far as he opposes Cortona's violently Baroque decorations he may be said to belong to a relatively more Classical group of artists.

Andrea del Sarto, 1486–1531. Florentine. Pupil of Piero di Cosimo. Influenced by Leonardo, Fra Bartolomeo and Michelangelo. Religious and fresco painter. Some portraits.

Girolamo Savoldo, *c.* 1480–1548. North-Italian School. Born in Brescia. Influenced by Giovanni Bellini, Giorgione, Lorenzo Lotto.

Bernardo Strozzi, 1581–1664. Genoese School. Influenced by Rubens, Van Dyck and the Caravaggesque movement. In 1631 he settles in Venice. Also influenced by Titian and Veronese.

Pellegrino Tibaldi, 1527–1596. Mannerist. Influenced first by Parmigianino and from 1550, when he goes to Rome, by the pupils of Michelangelo. His most original work is the decoration in Palazzo Poggi at Bologna.

Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, 1696–1770. Pupil of Piazzetta. Follower of Ricci. In 1731 he decorates the Palazzo Archinto at Milan and in 1740 the Palazzo Clerici. Religious works for Venetian churches and societies. In 1743 he paints in the Palazzo Labia at Venice the Meeting and the Banquet of Antony and Cleopatra; in 1759 the Apotheosis of the Pisani Family. His greatest work is the decoration of the Residence at Würzburg (1750–1753). From 1762 to 1770 he paints in the Royal Palace at Madrid the Apotheosis of Spain. He was assisted and imitated by his son Gian Domenico.

Tintoretto (Jacopo Robusti), 1518–1594. Venetian. Pupil of Bonifazio Veronese; influenced by Titian, Michelangelo, Parmigianino. His principal works are the decorations on panels of walls and ceilings in the Scuola di San Rocco at Venice; Albergo 1564–1567. Sala Grande: 1576–1581. Sala Terrena: 1583–1587.

Tiziano Vecellio, 1487(?)–1576. Venetian School. Born at Pieve di Cadore. 1496: enters the Bellini workshop at Venice. 1508: Giorgione's assistant at the frescoes on the Fondaco dei Tedeschi. 1511: decorates the Scuola del Santo at Padua. 1516: official painter to the Venetian State. 1516–

1523: Bacchanals for Duke Alfonso d'Este of Ferrara. 1533: court painter to the Emperor Charles V. 1545: visits Rome. 1548: journey to Augsburg where he paints the Emperor on horseback. 1553: mythological paintings *Poesie* for Philip II of Spain. 1576: death of Titian.

Veronese (Paolo Caliari), 1528–1588. Venetian School. Born at Verona. Pupil of Antonio Badile. Influenced by Moretto of Brescia, Parmigianino, Titian, etc. Settles in Venice for life from 1555. Visits Rome in 1560. Decorates the Villa Barbaro at Maser, built by Palladio. Allegorical paintings in the Palazzo Ducale.

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